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DAILY BLAMES CIA FOR 'ANTI-BULGARIAN CAMPAIGN'

AU0210l1 Sofia BTA in English 0835 GMT 2 Feb 83

["Directors of Anti-Bulgarian Campaign" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, Feb 2 (BTA) -- "There is ample and irrefutable evidence on the direct responsibility of the CIA and, therefore, of official Washington, on the planning and carrying out of the present anti-Bulgarian and anti-Soviet campaign," writes Mr Deyan Pavlov in ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME today. He underlines that the foolhardy accusations in "Bulgarian terrorism" and "Bulgarian complicity in the papal assassination attempt" have been launched and constantly nourished by the CIA and its agents.

Dwelling on President Reagan's speech before the British Parliament (last June), Mr Deyan Pavlov recalls the attempts of the American President to contest the legality of the already established political and social systems of states lying "from Szczecin on the Baltic to Varna on the Black Sea." "Does not the fact that Varna and Bulgaria were mentioned in particular prove that some time in mid-year, 1982, a decision has been made on a top level in Washington to unfold parallel with the anti-Polish campaign a mass anti-Bulgarian 'psychological operations'?" asks Mr Deyan Pavlov.

He underlines that with her successes, with her firm and consistent peace policy Bulgaria has apparently become a thorn in the side of the most militant and aggressive imperialist circles, who developed the plan for an anti-Bulgarian campaign. Mr Pavlov reminds that at the end of last June President Reagan met in Langley the CIA top officials and appealed to them to be "on the frontline" in the "crusade" against socialism. The main strategical target was and remains the Soviet Union but the "knights of the cloak and the dagger" have been entrusted with the tasks to make at this stage everything possible, and impossible, as to discredit the most loyal Soviet ally, Bulgaria.

The author points out that early last August the CIA began to hint in some reactionary periodicals of "Agca's Bulgarian connection" and at the end of the same month Ms Claire Sterling, well-known for her close contacts with CIA, published in the American magazine, READERS DIGEST, some thumb-sucked "sensational disclosures." Early last October, Mr Pavlov goes on further, an official Italian juridical figure visited Washington to "get familiar" with the article of Ms Sterling and a telecast in the same spirit. It was declared openly that only thanks to Ms Sterling it has become possible to accuse Bulgaria of "complicity" in the papal assassination attempt.

After Antonov's arrest the CIA has tried at first to conceal its leading role in the anti-Bulgarian campaign. It made statements through figureheads that "the evidence" against Antonov was "too conditional" and against the Soviet Union -- "purely deductive." Mr Deyan Pavlov underlines, however, that when the anti-Bulgarian campaign has been entering a dead alley, it was the CIA and official Washington who have come onto the stage and are doing this repeatedly to direct the slanderous allegations against Bulgaria and the Soviet Union.

He quotes the statements of General Haig's former aide, Michel Leadon; of the CIA former assistant director, Ray Cline; of the former aide at the National Security Council under President Reagan, Richard Pipes; of Brzezinski; Kissinger; and the secretary for the defence of the United States of America, Caspar Weinberger. They all, in a different form have been instigating the anti-Bulgarian campaign, linking it unavoidably with the global anti-Soviet strategy of the United States of America.

The goals of the anti-Bulgarian campaign have been probably the most obvious in the statement of the U.S. former ambassador to the Soviet Union, Malcom Toon, who wrote in WASHINGTON POST that it was time "to stop speaking of summit meetings as a desirable way of work with the Soviets...."

"Thus the 'Antonov case' is outlined as a dangerous manifestation of the global aggressive policy of the United States of America, aimed not only against Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, but against detente and peace and Europe and the world," writes Mr Pavlov. He stresses that the chief organizer and coordinator of the unprecedented anti-Bulgarian and anti-Soviet campaign is American imperialism and its secret services.

DATA ON TRADE WITH SOVIET UNION RELEASED

AU021425 Sofia BTA in English 1340 GMT 2 Feb 83

[Text] Moscow, February 2 (BTA corr.) -- The trade between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union exceeded nine milliard roubles last year -- a much greater sum that the one provided in the long-term trade agreement. The increasing bilateral trade stands proof to the dynamical development of the turnover between the two countries, based on reciprocal advantage. In 1982 Bulgaria received from the Soviet Union high-perfortal-cutting machines, power generation and geological and mining installations, passenger cars and lorries, tractors and other farm machines. Raw and other materials also have a great share in the Bulgarian imports from the Soviet Union. Bulgaria received, too, a lot of consumer goods from the Soviet Union, namely such commodities as electric household appliances, colour television sets, refrigerators, etc.

In recent years Bulgaria has improved the structure of her exports to the Soviet Union. Last year machinery and installations had priority in the Bulgarian export list to the Soviet Union, reaching 55 per cent. There are now thousands of handling and hoisting machines, farm machines, computer and communication equipment of Bulgarian make working in the Soviet Union. Bulgaria also exports there chemical products, consumer goods, furniture, fruits and vegetable cans. An important item in Bulgaria's exports to the Soviet Union are the complete plant deliveries, which amounted last year to more than 100 million roubles. The results of Bulgaro-Soviet trade in 1982 give grounds to maintain that the economic cooperation between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union will continue along ascending lines.

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES THREE NEW AMBASSADORS 2 FEB

AU021943 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 2 Feb 83

[Text] On 2 February Comrade Todor Zhivkov received in succession the newly appointed ambassadors to Bulgaria of Indonesia, Akosah; Ecuador, Hugo Rafael Jativa Ortiz; and Zimbabwe John George Manyowe, all of whom presented their credentials.

BUSH GIVEN 'COOL RECEPTION' IN NETHERLANDS

LD021555 Prague CTK in English 1533 GMT 2 Feb 83

[Text] The Hague [no date as received] -- U.S. Vice-President George Bush, on a two-week tour of Western Europe, conferred here today with Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers, the minister of defence and other officials.

The purpose of Bush's trip is to prevail upon the governments of the European NATO countries so they should give unconditional support to the plan for deployment of 572 U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles on their soil.

Washington regards his talks in The Hague as the most difficult on his tour, because the Netherlands has not yet given its official approval for the siting of 48 cruise missiles on its territory, as envisaged in the NATO decision of 1979.

Bush was given a cool reception in the Netherlands. The opposition Labour Party described his tour as a propaganda ploy and part of concerted American pressure.

COMMENTARY ON REAGAN'S OPEN LETTER TO EUROPE

LD021139 Prague International Service in Czech and Slovak 2230 GMT 1 Feb 83

[Comment by editor Radko Vanke]

[Text] As is known, Ronald Reagan's letter is an open letter that was brought to Western Europe by U.S. Vice President George Bush in his diplomatic luggage and was made public yesterday in West Berlin. The content of the letter, in which Reagan addresses the people in Europe, is simple. He suggests to Yuriy Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, that they meet anywhere and anytime to discuss an agreement on abolishing all U.S. and USSR medium-range ground-based missiles.

George Bush described the U.S. President's proposal as a gesture of good will, a step toward strengthening world peace and a new peace step by the U.S. Administration. He even expressed his and Reagan's indignation over the fact that anyone would think that the policy of the White House and Pentagon follows anything other than peaceful aims. He thereby indirectly admitted why Ronald Reagan has turned to the European general public. He must have become aware that the anti-American moods in Western Europe are not simply a little cloud that will soon be blown away by a wind, but that they are a huge cloud portending a real storm.

Ordinary West European citizens -- and more frequently realistically thinking West European politicians -- are protesting against the U.S. attempts to change its NATO West European partners into launching sites for U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles. The proposals bring nothing new and are not a step toward meeting the USSR halfway. The USSR offered many proposals that took into consideration the key condition: to maintain the approximate parity in the amount of nuclear arms between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. However, the United States continues to demand the so-called zero option in accordance to Ronald Reagan's ideas; the proposals contained in the open letter are nothing else. These proposals suggest that the United States and the USSR destroy all their ground-based medium-range missiles. What would this mean? The United States has visible superiority in the number of planes that carry nuclear bombs and submarines with nuclear missiles. This superiority would remain and would be strengthened with the medium-range nuclear missiles in the arsenals of Great Britain and France. It cannot be said that French military forces do not belong under NATO leadership.

The French president recently said at the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the French-FRG alliance treaty that France is and will remain a loyal NATO ally. Therefore, this is a zero option only for the USSR.

This is not only an issue pertaining to the NATO missiles. It is therefore understandable that many USSR medium-range missiles are located in Siberia. Can the USSR afford to dismantle them when only slight hints of normalization are appearing with the Asian superpower? The answer is a firm no. Reagan's peace proposals demand this despite the fact that these missiles do not threaten the United States or Western Europe.

It is obvious that the U.S. President has sent old goods in a new package to Western Europe. Why? A BBC correspondent described this very precisely when he commented on Reagan's letter to the people of Europe: This is a salute in the fight for gaining the affections of the West European general public. He is definitely right to try, because these affections are presently with the USSR as a result of its constructive proposals.

GENSCHER VISIT CONTINUES; MEETS WITH HUSAK

LD021416 Prague CTK in English 1341 GMT 2 Feb 83

[Text] Prague [no date as received] -- Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak received West German Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher on the second day of his official visit to Czechoslovakia Wednesday.

They reviewed the present level of bilateral relations and the possibilities of their further promotion. It was noted that mutual cooperation was in harmony with the spirit of the treaty on mutual relations between Czechoslovakia and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Both sides re-affirmed their will to continue along the road started and develop all the positive achieved in the past. [sentence as received] At the same time it was pointed out that in the present complex international situation it is necessary to use all possibilities for a business-like dialogue and constructive talks aimed at averting the threat of a nuclear war and ensuring conditions for the continuation of international detente.

Genscher Holds Press Conference

LD021943 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 2 Feb 83

[Text] FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher held a press conference at Prague's Hotel Intercontinental at noon today.

In the introduction he made a brief statement in which he spoke in favor of developing relations between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the FRG and of the continuation of the East-West dialogue. He said, among other things, that the regular contacts between the foreign ministers of the two countries -- this visit to Czechoslovakia is the third one in this framework -- provide possibilities for intensive talks on bilateral relations as well as the international situation. He recalled this year's 10th anniversary of the signing of the agreement on mutual relations between the two countries, whose fulfillment represents the expression of the strivings of the two parties to contribute toward improving the situation in Europe, as well as the relations between East and West. The development of the contacts between our two neighboring countries is stable, he said. We are working toward further extending cooperation. He assiduously defended the unrealistic and anti-peace policy of the FRG and contradicting reality, he claimed that the West is willing to react to every constructive proposal by the Warsaw Pact.

In the next part of the press conference, Minister Genscher answered the journalists' questions.

A CTK correspondent asked how he assessed Saturday's statement by FRG Interior Minister Zimmermann, which called into question the agreements concluded by the FRG with the socialist countries, supported the territorial claims of the revanchists and advocated the fiction of great Germany. In an evasive answer, Minister Genscher appealed to the Bundestag statement of 1972, using it to justify the words of his colleague by claiming that, allegedly, there is no one in the Federal Government who would not strive for developing positive contacts.

A Czechoslovak radio correspondent said that the January 1983 Political Declaration by the Warsaw Pact member states is being assessed in the West as an attempt by Moscow to drive a wedge between the United States and Western Europe. In this connection, he asked whether this Atlantic unity was based on militarism and preparations for war.

Minister Genscher replied that the Western alliance is striving to achieve some kind of dynamic peace policy; but at the same time, he defended the so-called zero option of U.S. President Reagan which provides unilateral advantages for the United States and NATO, and represents a threat to peace.

Following brief answers to RUDE PRAVO and the Czechoslovak television reporters, Minister Genscher was asked how the neighborly relations between Czechoslovakia and the FRG would be influenced by the deployment of missiles in the FRG, while there were no such missiles in Czechoslovakia.

In reply, the FRG foreign minister appealed to some sort of feeling among the people of the FRG and Western Europe, who, allegedly, have been living under threat for some time. At the same time, he spoke in favor of using all platforms for fruitful East-West negotiations. He claimed that during all such negotiations, the West was not striving for one-sided advantages, although all the NATO proposals so far clearly point to a disturbance of the current balance of forces.

Ends Visit, Departs

LD021543 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 2 Feb 83

[Text] FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher today concluded his official visit to Czechoslovakia and in the afternoon returned by air to Bonn. He was seen off at Ruzyne Airport in Prague by Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek at whose invitation the visit took place.

FINANCE MINISTER REVIEWS SET OF MEASURES

AU011919 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 29 Jan 83 p 3

[Report on an article by Leopold Ler, CSSR minister of finance, published in the MODERN MANAGEMENT periodical No 1/1983: "Two Years of the Set of Measures; Minister Ler Assesses the Effects of the New Economic Tools"]

[Text] The term "Set of Measures" entered into our economic life on 1 January 1981. As of that day, a number of economic tools and management rules became valid: their basic purpose was, and is, to aid the more efficient development of the Czechoslovak national economy. The introduction of the entire Set of Measures was preceded by extensive experimental checking on how the individual economic tools operate in the practice of several economic production units. What results did the management changes yield? What did we succeed in, where have we failed? Is the Set of Measures operating in the desirable direction?

Workers, technicians and economic staff in every plant have given thought to these and many other questions. In the first issue of the MODERN MANAGEMENT periodical this year, Eng Leopold Ler, candidate of sciences, CSSR minister of finance and chairman of the Government Committee for Issues of the Planned Management of National Economy, reflected on developments to date and on further tasks in the management sphere.

Successes and Shortcomings

-- First: The matter-of-fact problems of economy development, regardless of whether they are a leftover of the past or have cropped up in recent years, Minister Ler states among other things, continue to affect the development of dynamics and of the balanced state of our economy to a far greater extent than the Set of Measures has so far been able to positively influence. The Set of Measure's influence has not yet had any striking effect, above all, on the sphere of technical advance, capital construction and external economic relations, where the realization of necessary changes will objectively demand a lengthy effort.

-- Second: The increased economic pressure called forth by the Set of Measures has positively affected the solution of economic problems and can be proved to have contributed to the results achieved primarily in improving the quality indexes in industrial development (profit growth, decrease of costs, particularly costs of materials), increase of value added over and above the plan, greater dynamics of the profitability of production assets, reduced pressure of the economic sphere on the growth of manpower and so forth).

-- Third: So far, the management sphere on all levels has not succeeded in coping with the substantially higher demands set by the new measures on the standards of this sphere's work. The quality and methods of management work to date have shown corresponding changes only to a small degree.

We Need Intelligible Indexes

So far, we have not succeeded in sufficiently mastering the task of working out, and transforming, the set of tasks, indexes and standards so as to make them intelligible to every employee both in production and in the auxilliary and servicing processes. Many indexes express, as they must, the relations throughout the enterprise. However, the achievement of these indexes represents the result of activities of the collective of employees, literally of every individual. That is also why every one of them must know what is expected of him in his specific work. For instance, if we speak of the profitability of production assets, it is an index that will tell the enterprise economist quite a lot, while it will mean practially nothing to a worker in a workshop. At the same time, that worker will find it unambiguously intelligible if we speak of the use of a specific machine, the reduction of cost material [rezijni material], consumption, and so forth. Thus, every enterprise should have at its disposal a system of criteria and indexes which would ensure that every employee has a specific place in the effort to raise production efficacy. He should know the significance and role of his working place for achieving overall results, as well as the rules governing the use of material incentives linked with the results. It is only on this that we can effectively organize the development of the working people's initiative, including planning and so forth.

How To Proceed Further?

We are primarily striving to consistently complete working out and implementing the measures already adopted and approved. We then must "haul" the Set of Measures into the sphere of technical advance, foreign trade and capital construction.

It is mainly a matter of simplifying the management of technical advance, enhancing the jurisdiction and responsibility of economic production units in scientific-technical progress; enhancing material incentives, above all, for successful creative workers; and successfully linking technical advance with raising the effectiveness of the reproduction process. In the foreign trade sector we want the production organizations to bear greater responsibility for the results achieved on foreign markets.

Undoubtedly, the decisive link in the system of national economic management is national economic planning, since the priority and significance of decisions made by the state as the representative of the owner of production means is steadily growing. Of course, the forms and contents of national economic planning must proceed from the conditions and demands of intensive advance and scientific-technical progress. The significance and irreplaceable nature of long term plans and prognoses follow from the very substance of these processes. It is becoming increasingly valid today that if we are to make correct decisions we must have an idea about the situation 10-20 years from now. Such problems as ensuring the state's fuel and power balance, purposeful structural changes, or the implementation of new scientific discoveries cannot be resolved in plans which have a 1-year or 5-year horizon.

If we are to achieve a radical turn in the efficacy of the reproduction process, we must inevitably define its criteria, and the tools it is measured by, more reliably. We proceed from the fact that efficacy cannot be measured or influenced without such tools for expressing values as, for instance, objectively set prices, profit, real foreign currency rates and loans. We must also make more consistent use of these tools for improving the plan to the utmost on the central level and on the level of the enterprises' economic sphere.

We attribute extraordinary significance to the effective use of motivation pressure derived from the outside, pressure which forces both the centrally made decisions and the behavior of economic organizations to respect relationships to world market norms and to react flexibly to changes in them. The amendments which will strengthen those elements in the management system which support the necessary adaptability of our economy must naturally also include measures eliminating the undesirable influences of time-serving, speculationist and inflationary fluctuations on the balanced development of our economy.

-- The 2 years during which the Set of Measures has been in effect have shown that the reserves we have in management are still large, and that they are not being sufficiently utilized. Even despite this relatively short time we cannot deny the efficacy of the many economic tools brought us by the Set of Measures. Naturally, this is no reason for exaggerated satisfaction, or for rejecting changes in management. Without management changes, without improving management, it is in fact practically impossible to achieve our main goal -- the intensification of our national economy. This intensification is in itself the prerequisite for our living standards.

USSR MILITARY ATTACHE ADDRESSES PRAGUE SEMINAR

AU021633 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Jan 83 p 2

[Text] Prague, CTK -- Some 200 lecturers of the CSSR's Socialist Academy yesterday participated in Prague in an all-state seminar on the topic "Soviet Armed Forces -- the Pillar of Peace." In his paper, Yuriy Chelpanov, military and air attache of the USSR Embassy in the CSSR, stated, among other things, that despite all the tragic experiences of World War II, in recent years the imperialist circles headed by the United States have been constantly aggravating the international situation to an extremely dangerous extent.

They continue conducting an economic war against the socialist countries, they meddle in the internal affairs of these countries and are striving, above all, to achieve military supremacy over the countries of the socialist community. The U.S. and NATO countries' military preparations are acquiring unprecedented scope. Contrary to the aggressive endeavors of imperialist forces, the USSR and the Warsaw Pact member-states are consistently fighting for a policy of peace, a policy excluding all and any forms of war. The Political Declaration of the Warsaw Pact member states, adopted this January in Prague, is a broad program of guaranteeing security and peace in Europe and throughout the world.

PRESS CONFERENCE ON CIVIL DEFENSE TRAINING

AU011834 Prague PRACE in Czech 29 Jan 83 p 3

[CTK report: "To Consolidate CSSR's Defense Ability"]

[Text] Prague (CTK) -- A press conference held yesterday in Prague dealt with the preparation of citizens for civil defense in 1983.

The conference revealed that this year's topic for male and female employees, except those working in the unified cooperative farms and state farms, is "nuclear weapons, their use and protection against them." Nonworking citizens will be engaged in professional-technical work, entitled "first aid and sanitary [zdravotnicka] measures in cases of affliction by mass destruction weapons." Lectures for men and women in unified cooperative farms and state farms will be held on "the use of incendiary substances and protection against their effects." A military-political topic has been set for all citizens of the Czech Socialist Republic, namely "the citizens' share in perfecting civil defense and consolidating the CSSR's defense ability"; it will be taken care of by the Socialist Academy. In the same manner, the tuition of other topics will be carried out with the participation of the Union for Cooperation With the Army, the Czechoslovak Red Cross, and the Union of Fire Protection.

The press conference was concluded by Colonel Bedrich Ryznar, deputy chief of the civil defense staff in the Czech Socialist Republic, who stated that we had succeeded in fulfilling all the main tasks of last year.

BRIEFS

NEW AMBASSADOR TO NEPAL -- CSSR President Gustav Husak has appointed Jaromir Nehera as CSSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Kingdom of Nepal. At the same time, he recalled Pavel Kanka from that post. [Bratislva PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Jan 83 p 1 AU]

WEST SLOVAK WINTER CROPS -- Last year, winter crops in the West Slovak region were sown as follows: wheat on 212,719 hectares, rye on 10,977 hectares, barley on 6,900 hectares and rape on 12,594 hectares. [Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 13 Jan 83 p 2 AU]

1982 SLOVAK ELECTRICITY PRODUCTION -- Last year, the Bratislava-based Slovak electricity works generated 2,131,000 MW of electricity -- or 13 percent -- in excess of the plan. The Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear powerplant generated a total of 5,840,000 MW, which is 490,000 MW more than the plan envisaged. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Jan 83 p 2 AU]

COMMENTARIES VIEW BUSH MISSION, ARMS POLICY

Leuschner Views Berlin Speech

DW012205 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 1 Feb 83

[Text] U.S. President Reagan reacted to the Prague proposals of the socialist countries with the announcement that he would send his vice president, Bush, to West Europe for consultations with the U.S. allies on these proposals. Meanwhile Bush is in Europe, but little is left of the intention to jointly study the socialist proposals. Instead, the declared goal of the trip now is to bring the allies into line and launch a propaganda campaign against the socialist offers. Bush confirmed this by his appearance in West Berlin yesterday. Guenter Leuschner comments.

If the reason for Bush's trip originally were the Prague proposals of the Warsaw Pact countries, then his appearances must be judged by what he has to say about these proposals. Well, what did he have to say in West Berlin yesterday? First, he said by these proposals we wanted to drive a wedge between the United States and its European partners. This is no answer, but cheap demagogy. It remains unclear how the proposals for a treaty on the renunciation of the use of force between all Warsaw Pact countries and all NATO countries, including the United States, can be considered to be a wedge, but this may be the very reason why Bush didn't even mention this proposal, which is one of the most important proposals of Prague.

Second, the socialist countries proposed that all nuclear weapons, medium-range as well as the so-called tactical weapons, should be removed from Europe. Bush also failed to respond to this, only real, zero solution. He passed it over in silence. Third, the Soviet Union is prepared to meet the West at the Geneva negotiations on medium-range weapons so far that it will not have one missile more than the West. What did Bush say to that? Did he at least promise a serious study? Nothing of the kind. The answer was no, and this for two reasons, which are not new, however.

The Soviet Union wanted to secure a monopoly of medium-range nuclear weapons. He made this insinuation half a dozen times in his speech. A monopoly is something that is in exclusive possession of one side, something that the other side does not possess. However, Great Britain and France have 162 such missiles, and the Soviet Union does not want to have one more. NATO has over 700 medium-range nuclear bombers, the Soviet Union much less. Where is the monopoly? As for Bush's next insinuation, how can he talk about a decoupling of the United States from the West Europeans, if the United States has more than 10,000 strategic warheads, and 7,000 tactical nuclear weapons are stored in the FRG alone. All these are pretexts, but no serious answers.

Then what is left in his speech? First of all, the adherence to the demand that the Soviet Union disarm unilaterally: This is the notorious U.S. zero option. In this way Bush has confirmed that the United States, contrary also to the wishes of many politicians in the West that it should finally move, keeps to its nonnegotiable maximum demands. In addition, there is a considerable amount of anticommunist crusade ideology, which in a way is the red thread in his speech. There also is the assurance that the United States won't prepare a nuclear war -- to claim such a thing was a cock-and-bull story.

If this is correct, then there must be many story-tellers in the Reagan administration, because all that was said in the past months and even recent days about the possibility of waging a nuclear war and limiting it to the European Continent comes from these sources -- the White House, the Department of State and the Pentagon.

Bush's assurance that the United States doesn't want a nuclear war would be more credible if the vice president had adopted a more serious stance on the Prague proposals and had responded to our offer with a counteroffer. Since nothing of the kind happened, the suspicion that Washington responds to the concerns of the Europeans not by new proposals or a new policy but by more propaganda will grow in West Europe. Such an approach does not remove any worry.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND Analyzes Visit

LD021121 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0301 GMT 2 Feb 83

[Text] Berlin, 2 Feb (ADN) -- NEUES DEUTSCHLAND publishes the following commentary today entitled "One Day After 30 January":

The proposals by the Warsaw Pact for continuing the process of detente and securing peace are apparently meeting with such response both in the United States and Western Europe that the U.S. vice president himself set off for West Berlin to entreat the allies, contrary to their own interests, not to tread the path of arms limitation and disarmament proposed by the Warsaw Pact but to take instead that of confrontation and escalated arming, which NATO has long been pursuing. Only the future will tell whether this works out. One thing is already certain: More than 70 percent of West Europeans, on whom the new U.S. nuclear systems are to be bestowed, reject these diabolical things. Despite the millions of dollars that have meanwhile flowed into the editorial dens of some Western mass media, they, like the Catholic bishops of the United States, are of the view that more arming does not mean more security.

They fear that the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in West Europe will result in their living on a volcano. It is quite understandable, therefore, that the U.S. vice president, assisted by the FRG chancellor, attaches no importance to devoting due attention to the proposals of the Warsaw Pact for preserving peace.

The socialist states' peace proposals contained in the Prague Political Declaration have met with burning interest and growing approval throughout the world. This is not surprising. With this basic document the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states has pointed out to the peoples, parliaments and governments of all countries a way, acceptable to peace-loving people, of averting the threat of a nuclear inferno.

Fresh impetus has been given to the peace movement which is developing all over the globe at an unprecedented extent. The realization that the peoples themselves must take the cause of peace into their hands in order to check the arms race and advance arms limitation and disarmament in practical terms has today reached hundreds of millions of people on all continents. Thus the peace movement extends from the working class to the realistically-minded bourgeoisie. It embraces Christians and atheists, communists and social democrats, the most wide-ranging of bourgeois parties and well-known clerical dignitaries of all denominations, scientists, writers, artists, leading former NATO generals, ecological movements and influential circles of industry and commerce.

If the peace proposals of socialism are strengthening the hopes and actions of peace-loving people, then the most aggressive and reactionary circles of imperialism, greedy for arms profits and dominance, are becoming afraid and enraged at this. Those whose officially declared aim it is to achieve military strategic superiority over socialism fear that their hopes will be dashed. They are thus undertaking various kinds of maneuvers in order to emerge from the political defensive again and force through a policy of escalated arming and confrontation at all costs, and using every means despite the people's opposition.

That is also the real purpose of the European tour by U.S. Vice President G. Bush. His mission consists in disciplining the governments of the NATO states with a big stick, in other words, with the United States' political, military and economic instruments of power, to such an extent that the arms drive, particularly the Brussels missile decision, is pushed through against the vital interests of the European peoples. Wielding the big stick is accompanied as always by spreading the great lie, that is, about the alleged military threat to peoples from the Soviet Union, from socialism.

The U.S. vice president has obviously underestimated the world public's opinion to the effect that the arms drive, particularly in the nuclear sphere, has been impermissibly set in motion by the United States. The question is thus, why in his West Berlin speech he served up the fairy tale suggesting that the arms race is being pursued by the USSR and not by the United States. It completely escaped him that 50 years earlier the life of the Weimar Republic was extinguished by people who regarded the Soviet Union as the main threat to the implementation of their crusade plans.

The facts of history show: there is no class or group of people in socialism who profit from arming or war. It is always imperialism that has fanned the arms race and covered the world with war. Who first created the atomic bomb and used it for the first and as yet only time against people? Who was the first to build thousands of bombers planned to carry nuclear weapons? Who was the first to put into service nuclear-powered submarines with nuclear missiles on board? Who began the production of neutron weapons and binary chemical weapons? Who is spreading the arms race to space? It is the United States which is deploying its armies and fleets throughout the world, saying as Defense Secretary Weinberger did, that it is indispensable for "U.S. security."

The appearance of the U.S. vice president in West Berlin is fatefully reminiscent of the worst times of the cold war when once before an anticommunist, anti-Soviet crusade was staged from West Berlin, of all places. On the other hand, the representative of the U.S. President could blow not only the trumpet of antisocialist slander, he also tried to coax a few notes, although wrong ones, out of the pipe of peace.

The envoy of the White House and Pentagon claimed, for example, that the United States is not preparing a nuclear war. Mr Bush is clearly banking on human forgetfulness. But the world public remembers the words of U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger who stated in an NBC television interview on 27 October 1981: "It is merely a fact that -- however unfortunate and terrible it would be for the world -- it is possible that some nuclear weapons might be used in connection with a war, which until that time was waged exclusively in the European theater."

Vice President Bush had nothing to say about the specific, constructive peace proposals by the socialist countries. He deliberately avoided answering the question of why the U.S. Administration is refusing to renounce the first use of nuclear weapons. He found nothing to say about the proposal of concluding an agreement between the Warsaw Pact states and NATO on nonuse of military force and the preservation of peaceful relations. Not one syllable did the U.S. President's representative spare for Yuriy Andropov's proposal of reducing strategic weapons immediately by 25 percent. Mr Bush also ignored the Swedish Government's initiative for creating a nuclear-free zone in the heart of Europe.

The vice president had nothing better in his luggage than President Reagan's so-called zero option, which has been criticized as not serious and unrealistic by all reasonable political circles in the world, and even by the former director of the U.S. Disarmament Agency, E. Rostow.

As is known, the U.S. intention is aimed at abolishing all land-based medium-range missiles. The trick in this is that the Soviet Union would unilaterally have to destroy all its medium-range missiles, as Yuriy Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, stated in his PRAVDA interview, while the United States and its NATO allies would still keep all their nuclear weapons in this category.

The American love of the zero option arises from a desire to reduce to zero Soviet defense capability and the defense capability of the socialist community and to achieve for itself a superiority, or rather even a monopoly. A genuine zero option desired by the peoples is proposed by the USSR: There should be no nuclear weapons at all in the European region, neither medium-range nor tactical, belonging to the USSR or NATO.

The peoples of Europe, particularly the citizens of the FRG, cannot ignore the fact that the U.S. vice president's crusade speech in West Berlin was zealously and unreservedly supported by the FRG Government in the speech by Federal Chancellor Kohl. Political observers see this as further evidence of the dangerous slide by the CDU/CSU-led Bonn government on to the adventurist confrontation course of the present U.S. Administration.

The ruling circles in Bonn obviously believe that by abandoning European interests to the U.S. striving for supremacy, they might be able to implement their own plans for strengthening the positions of German imperialism, revising the European system of treaties and the map of Europe, revising the results of World War II and postwar developments. The openly revanchist remarks by the FRG interior minister a few days ago, when he said that as far as he and the present Bonn Government are concerned there is only one German reich in the borders of 1937, are the accompaniment to the shrill noises in West Berlin. When Federal Chancellor Kohl constantly talks of "continuity in policy toward the east," not only in Warsaw, Prague and Berlin do people ask themselves what continuity is meant? That of detente and the policy of treaties or that of revanchism?

Such a question is justified since the federal chancellor's pledge to continue dialogue with the GDR was linked with the high-handed presumption of "speaking for all Germans," for "his compatriots in the GDR," even though no one gave him a mandate to do so. Neither is this possible because it was stipulated not only in the European system of treaties but specifically in the basic treaty between the GDR and FRG, which forms the basis for normal relations between the two German states, that the two German states are autonomous and independent in their internal and external affairs. For this reason the GDR has so far refrained from directing appeals "to its compatriots in the FRG."

All this underscores the statement in the communique on the recent meeting between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Andrey Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Soviet foreign minister, which warningly draws attention to the intensification of the confrontation policy pursued by the United States and NATO.

However, the confrontation politicians no longer determine the course of events alone. Today the international balance of power is fundamentally different from that at the start of the cold war. As the Prague Political Declaration proves, the socialist countries are doing everything possible to maintain the military balance at an increasingly lower level in accordance with the principles of equality and equal security, to thwart the attacks by the most aggressive imperialist circles and to help achieve a breakthrough for the cause of peace and international security. The socialist states have enough good will and determination in this respect. To this end they submit constructive proposals which correspond with the interests of all states. And they have enough power -- and this power will grow further -- to secure, together with all peace forces, an improvement in the world political climate.

FISCHER PRAISES WARSAW PACT PRAGUE DECLARATION

LD012141 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1546 GMT 1 Feb 83

[Text] Berlin -- the minister of foreign affairs of the GDR, Oskar Fischer, while speaking to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the People's Chamber on Tuesday, praised the Political Declaration of the Prague meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member-states as a realistic alternative to a policy of confrontation and arms escalation, to the stationing of new American missiles in the Western European countries. He emphasized that it was a matter of doing everything to reduce nuclear arms, especially in Europe, even to remove them completely.

In agreement with the Prague Declaration, the GDR considered especially important the formation of a nuclear arms-free zone on both sides of the dividing line between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, in accordance with the Swedish proposals, since the state with the greatest density of nuclear weapons was in close proximity to this line and there were plans to station more nuclear weapons on its territory. The GDR had, therefore, in a note to the Swedish Government, declared its willingness to put all of its territory at the disposal of such a nuclear arms free zone, with due regard for the principle of equality and equal security. This corresponded with its fundamental policy of doing everything to prevent a war from originating on German soil ever again.

In this connection Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer pointed out that the joint appearance of U.S. Vice President Bush and FRG Chancellor Kohl in West Berlin was not best suited to create that trust between nations which is necessary in order to profit from those opportunities which resulted from the most recent proposals by the Warsaw Pact states for arms limitation and disarmament, especially in the nuclear field, but also as regards conventional arms.

Foreign Minister Fischer further dealt with the dangerous growth of revanchism and attacks on detente by Bonn representatives. Minister Barzel, for example, felt called upon to continuously lay new mines in the road to detente and normal relations between the GDR and the FRG. Hardly a day passed without one of his sorties attacking the political-territorial realities of present-day Europe.

In this it was not only a matter of the personal ambitions of Herr Barzel, Oskar Fischer emphasized. The revanchist statements by FRG Interior Minister Zimmermann and the support given him by the Federal Government showed that this is really the line of those forces in the FRG which want to reverse the wheel of history, who want to take up at that point where they stopped under Adenauer and Erhard. "This type of 'continuity' inevitably leads to a dead end. 1983 is not 1960. Meanwhile the European treaties have come into existence, the Helsinki Final Act, but above all the basic treaty and also the four powers agreement on West Berlin."

"As far as relations between the two German states are concerned, only the treaties concluded between them are valid, nothing else; not the FRG basic law nor the so-called Germany treaty nor some obscure letters," Oskar Fischer continued. "Herr Barzel would be well advised to note this and to cease his actions, which are extremely harmful to relations and thus for peace and detente. He too must know that there are not 'two states in Germany,' but two German states with differing social orders, which belong to different, even opposing alliances, the GDR and the FRG. A sensible relationship between them is more important than ever, especially in 1983. One can only hope that this insight gains ground in Bonn with the governing powers."

LEUSCHNER ON SWEDEN NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE PROPOSAL

DW020723 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 31 Jan 83

[Guenter Leuschner international review]

[Text] Good evening, dear listeners, almost as long as there exist atomic weapons, there also exists the idea of creating zones and areas that are free from these mass annihilation weapons -- so to speak -- as a step on the road toward abolishing them later on.

It is obvious that the discussion on such zones free from atomic weapons concentrated above all on Europe as early as in the sixties, because nowhere else are that many atomic warheads stockpiled on such narrow area -- roughly 7,000 on the FRG soil alone -- as over here in Europe.

The discussion under way on the subject is particularly intensive in northern Europe and in the Balkans, but lastly also elsewhere, as for instance in Britain and even in the United States, where the deputies of communities, cities and districts have come out for keeping their territories free from atomic weapons. There is no need to explain that a territory that is free from such weapons will hardly become the target for weapons of the other side. For this reason it is understandable that the idea of creating such nuclear-free zones has become ever more concrete in as much as concern is growing over the aggravation of the international situation, in the search for finding a way out.

It is from this consideration that the official proposal of Sweden emerged which the Stockholm government addressed some weeks ago to the Warsaw Pact countries and to the NATO states. What is at stake here is negotiations on an area right in the heart of Europe from which nuclear theater weapons are to be removed, meaning from a strip of roughly 150 km on both sides of the dividing line between the military blocs.

The first two governments concerned now responded to this proposal, that is those of the GDR and the Soviet Union. The GDR is ready to make its entire territory available in the event that such a zone free from nuclear weapons will be created. The response by the Soviet Union naturally is likewise positive, with the USSR suggesting as to whether it would not even be better, in the interest of a really substantial lessening of the nuclear threat, to enlarge the broadness of the territory to be kept free from tactical atomic weapons, to roughly 300 km on both sides. This enlargement is plausible, because the farther the atomic weapons are moved apart, the better it is for our security. But this, to be sure, requires detailed negotiations. For the time being, however, the approval of the other side is lacking.

It would seem that, above all, our neighbor in the West, meaning the Federal Republic, must be equally interested in this as are we in the GDR. Geography alone is speaking for it. It also would seem that it would well become the two German states to respond to the Swedish initiative without hesitation and in the same constructive spirit.

In these days around the 50th anniversary of the fascist seizure of power politicians here and there repeated what they had said already before, and they were speaking of the obligation to see to it that never again would war emanate from German soil. The Swedish proposal would be an outstanding opportunity to bolster this will through deeds. What can be hardly imagined and what would devaluate the binding words would be a situation in which one of the German states self-evidently wants to incorporate its territory in such a zone while the other refuses to do so, under whatever pretexts.

We do not want to paint a gloomy picture because the answer of the other side is still pending, but some of the reaction from the Western side sounds like what was heard often before in the past. Small wonder, there is, of course, talk again of Soviet propaganda. This sounds even more abstruse this time because what matters actually is a proposal made by neutral Sweden. Then there is the allegation -- and this certainly is not very inventive -- that a nuclear-free zone would enhance the threat of conventional war -- this way one can move in circles for ever. And, of course, there also is the mendacious and not provable allegation on the Soviet Union's superiority in the field of conventional weapons.

FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE writes today that doubts about the Soviet proposal -- what is meant, however, is the Swedish proposal -- are even greater because it boiled down to turning, above all, the Federal Republic and the GDR into nuclear-free zones. For the Federal Republic this would involve a special status within NATO. Since FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE certainly will not find any citizen in Leipzig, Dresden or Magdeburg, who would have objections against our government's approval of a zone free from atomic weapons, one must ask oneself as to who might have such objections in Hamburg, Duesseldorf or Frankfurt, and why so?

Nobody is in a position to explain as to how peace is to be created with ever fewer weapons, if at the same time any concrete proposal for fewer weapons, wherever it comes from, is being rejected beforehand. In the last analysis the hickhack that has started now about the Swedish proposal boils down to the same perplexing game [verwirrspiel] being played about the Geneva negotiations on medium-range weapons now, and, since yesterday, together with U.S. Vice President Bush, who was sent to Europe precisely for this purpose. Basically, all these sandbox exercises of agitation, ranging from zero or zero plus, to intermediate solutions or all other kinds of inventions, have hardly anything to do with the search for genuine negotiation solutions, but rather with the search for pretexts, so as to preserve the existing atomic weapons and to station ever new ones.

Seen from this angle, it appears strange only at first glance that now even the mendacious American zero option is coming under fire also from the far right. The way this is done, and for what purpose, however, requires so much unmasking that I want to revert once again to another article of FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, published these days under the headline "How Sensible Is the Zero Option?" First, the article says that the decision on the stationing of new American medium-range weapons was made as early as spring of 1975 at a meeting of NATO's nuclear planning group. It says verbatim: All this was thought over and decided upon before the Soviets' started building their SS-20 missiles.

So nothing remains of the counterarming, as it was called for several years.

You may ask as to why this is being admitted. Just wait and see, for, second, it is said that the decision was made in 1975 because at this period of time the Soviet Union was striving for parity with America in the field of strategic weapons. And it reads even more plainly: In anticipation of the dreadful balance in intercontinental weapons, NATO felt that this equipment, meaning the new medium-range weapons, was necessary.

Clearly, this surely means to prevent a balance, a dreadful balance, as the paper even says. The Pershing-II and the cruise missiles were needed so as to achieve superiority. Well, indeed superiority, as we always have said! And the paper goes on to say: The reason for the requirement in medium-range weapons for Europe, which had led to the decision of 1975, remains to exist also without the SS-20s. The proposal of a zero solution does not live up to this.

What this means in plain German is: Even if the Soviet Union complies in as much as possible with what the West wants, then the Pershing-II and cruise missiles are needed, so as to unhinge the existing balance.

The NATO decision has nothing to do with the SS-20 but solely with the striving for superiority. The unilateral zero option was supposed to cover up the real intentions of the NATO decision. Now, after the Soviet Union has said that it did not want one missile more than the other side, some people obviously fear to walk into the very trap themselves that they intended for others. This is why they now prefer to tell the truth, that is to say, about their striving for superiority. This, however, is just enough unmasking that I considered it quite useful to deal somewhat more in detail with this article. Good evening and so long.

HONECKER RECEIVES USSR'S KULIKOV 1 FEBRUARY

LD020053 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1707 GMT 1 Feb 83

[Text] Berlin -- The general secretary of the SED Central Committee, Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council and the National Defense Council, on Tuesday received the commander in chief of the Joint Forces of the Warsaw Pact member-states, Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, who is on a visit to the GDR for a talk.

During the friendly meeting in Berlin, Marshal of the Soviet Union Kulikov conveyed greetings from the CPSU Central Committee general secretary, Yuriy Andropov, which were cordially reciprocated by Erich Honecker.

There was an exchange of views on the work of the Joint Forces as a result of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee as well as the Committee of Defense Ministers of the Warsaw Pact member-states in Prague.

Erich Honecker emphasized that the workers and soldiers of the GDR would make their active contribution in order to vigorously realize the peace initiatives of the Warsaw Pact states as well as to reliably defend the socialist gains and peace.

Army General Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defnse, and Deputy Defense Ministers Colonel-General Heinz Kessler and Colonel-General Fritz Streletz took part in the meeting, which took place in a cordial atmosphere.

Present were the representative of the commander in chief of the Joint Forces of the Warsaw Pact member-states in the National People's Army, Army General Ivan Shavrov, as well as the commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, Army General Mikhail Zaytsev.

VICE PREMIER KROLIKOWSKI ACTING IN STOPH ABSENCE

AU011548 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Jan 83 on page 2 carries ADN reports on Werner Krolikowski's meetings with the Italian foreign minister and the Polish parliamentary delegation led by Marshal of the Sejm Stanislaw Gucwa, in which Krolikowski is referred to as "acting chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers." The same paper on 31 Jan carries a report on the festive rally at East Berlin's Unter den Linden on the 30th. In the report, Premier Willi Stoph is not listed among those attending. Krolikowski is listed among the participants, but only as one of the SED Central Committee Politburo members and candidate members, without any reference to his being "acting chairman of the Council of Ministers.

BUDAPEST REPORTS BUSH'S TALKS IN NETHERLANDS

LD021625 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 2 Feb 83

[Text] The U.S. vice president has held talks in The Hague with the Netherlands prime minister and foreign minister. The exchange of views in Geneva and NATO's decision on the deployment of missiles are in the center of the talks. Bush has asked for a detailed report about the Netherlands Government's stand on the deployment of missiles. The Netherlands has not as yet decided whether it should allow the planned 48 robot planes on its territory; it makes this dependent on the outcome of the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva. Vice President Bush is holding a press conference in The Hague this afternoon and then he is going to Brussels.

MSZMP OFFICIAL ON PAST, FUTURE OF ECONOMIC REFORM

AU021505 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 29 Jan 83 p 3

[Article by Istvan Foldes, member of the economic working group of the MSZMP Central Committee: "Onward on the Path of the Reform]

[Text] It was one and a half decades ago that we introduced the new macro-management system of the socialist planned economy. Since then, the adjective "new" has long ago faded away from the name of the system called the "new economic mechanism" at the time. Indeed, also its second appellation -- reform -- has become, strictly speaking, antiquated, because, after more than a decade, the reformed macro-management system is an inalienable and integral part of our society. If we frequently use the appellation of reform nonetheless, we do so because, despite the internal and mainly external circumstances that have thoroughly changed in the meantime, we believe also today that the fundamental principles of the macro-management system elaborated in 1966 and implemented in 1968 are still valid. We do so also because the reform, seeking new paths of the socialist planned economy and reforming old ones, has not been removed from the agenda internationally, either. Everywhere where socialism is being built, the specific macro-management of the planned economy is being further developed and methods for creating better harmony between the plan and the market, and state macro-management and enterprise independence, are being sought.

Burst of Activity, Stopping Short

Many things have changed in the last 15 years. If we look at the period as a whole, it can be verified that the gross national product and industrial production have doubled, agriculture last year produced approximately 1.5 times more than in 1967, the per capita real income of the population was 1.7 times of its real income of the one and a half decades previously. However, both the appraisal and the deduction of experiences are more realistic if, within these one and a half decades, we mark out, by and large, three periods which, in many respect, contradict one another.

The first period was the phase of the unfolding of the reform, roughly the half decade between 1968 and 1972. Our people's economy has not had another 5 years as successful as that period. In addition to the favorable external boom, also the reform of the management of the national economy most certainly played a great role in this. Production and the standard of living rose at a rate in excess of the preceding period and the balance sheet of our foreign trade was positive. At the same time, the reform made the weak points of our people's economy -- a backward industrial structure and the uneconomical nature of the production of quite a few of our large-scale enterprises -- more visible. Also these contradictions brought to light contributed to the fact that, at the beginning of the seventies, previously settled debates were resumed and, aimed a correct and necessary amendment of the new macro-management system, some measures at variance with its spirit were implemented.

Enterprises in trouble were rescued without imposing strict requirements on them and the normativeness [normativitas] of the regulative system, its impact enforcing better work, declined. Also measures concerning agriculture, decreasing material incentive, had a harmful effect.

It was under these circumstances that the world economic price explosion at the end of 1973 befell our country, which created a fundamentally new situation for every country, including Hungary. It is clear by now that it caused not only a postponement, but also an intensification of problems. It is also clear that, underestimating the constancy and depth of the aforementioned changes, for a good while we did not let the new price terms cause a "ripple effect" in enterprise management. The state, for the most part, met the substantial exchange ratio losses, hardly making enterprises feel them. Nor was the plan for the people's economy critically revised and modified: Indeed, even the Fifth 5-Year Plan, elaborated already under the new conditions, overestimated our potentialities. Recognizing the good intentions and certain positive features of the policy of defending the stability of the economy, the above acted also against a development of the management of the national economy consistent with the reform. This was because internal prices increasingly drew away from the world market level, the increase of state subsidies made taking stock of the economy impossible once more and the normativeness of regulation considerably diminished.

The consequences are known. The economy adapted only sluggishly to the new world economic circumstances, internal utilization increasingly exceeded production year after year, the foreign trade equilibrium of the economy broke down and considerable foreign debts accumulated. The delayed and greatly toned down transference of world economic effects, the narrowing down of the sphere of effect of the market, the weakening of the market's influence, and recentralization measures -- all these were inconsistent with the spirit of the reform. They created a situation where neither the effects of the plan for the people's economy, nor the effects of the market were able sufficiently to assert themselves. Neither the planned character of state management, nor enterprise independence and initiative were able to unfold. Although plan indices were still not issued to enterprises from above, central "expectations" increasingly limited enterprise independence. The reason for this was that -- in a situation in which the position of the enterprise and the appraisal of its leaders depended not so much on the market and the improvement of management, but more so on the central organs that dispensed various concessions -- enterprise management understandably regarded the fulfillment of the aforementioned "expectations" as more important than improving its manner of management and, even more so, changing it, which even involved risks.

Adaptation With Contradictions

The party Central Committee put an end to this situation in December 1978, when it set the people's economy onto a new course of growth and, at the same time, proclaimed bringing the fundamental principles of the economic reform into full play. This is the fifth year that we are pursuing this course. Admittedly, we have slowed down the rate of growth, but -- despite foreign economic conditions that have become more difficult still in the meantime -- we have restored the equilibrium of foreign trade. In turnover cleared in currencies other than rubles, we achieved a surplus of approximately $400 million last year. The further development of the management of the national economy is playing a fundamental role in the attainment of the results, in the fact that -- as we often put it today -- we have remained on our feet. Learning the lessons of the preceding period, we have made regulation more normative, we have introduced, vis-a-vis convertible currencies, a homogenious exchange rate for the forint that fluctuates in accordance with the foreign exchange market, we have established the Ministry of Industry and other central organs and made changes affecting their sphere of competence, we have decentralized enterprise organization and we have made possible the establishment of small enterprises and cooperatives and the unfolding of private initiative.

Admittedly, while we have advanced in several respects in the spirit of the reform, there have been also measures contradicting the fundamental principles of our system of the management of the national economy. This was particularly so last year, when, to preserve the country's solvency, it became necessary to attain a more favorable foreign trade balance sheet than planned and we introduced an import-restraining practice that, not infrequently, made the economic activity of enterprises uncertain. The frequent and, on more than one occasion, retroactive alteration of financial regulators also restrained the independent initiative of enterprises and spoiled the atmosphere of trust between state organs and enterprises. We have introduced a world market-based producer price system, but we are not consistent in its application in principle. The bargaining over regulation that has replaced bargaining over the plan is now being complemented with bargaining over commodities. Within this framework it is not the producer and user who argue over prices, but the producer and price regulating organs who do so.

With reference to this undoubted contradiction, views have also been heard in various disputes and in periodicals to the effect that not only have we failed to progress in developing a practice consistent with our principles on the management of the national economy, but rather have regressed, that what we have done is a "compensatory act" destined to conceal a return to the previous antiquated system of macro-management. I think that such views lose sight of the main direction and trend of changes. They interpret the obligatory measures arising from the exigency of the situation -- which are regarded as temporary also officially -- as harbingers of some kind of a renewed recentralization. There is no doubt that a partial replacement of normative regulation by "manual control" is not consistent with the reform. However, necessity does not know any law; the fulfillment of our international payment obligations was more important than anything else. Moreover, if this was the only way for us to ensure that fulfillment it was still more effective than to insist in a doctrinaire manner on principles, irrespective of their correctness.

Complex Further Development

It is becoming increasingly clear today that we can only move forward, out of the present difficult situation, and replace stagnation and slow growth with dynamic progress if we mobilize new driving forces which force organs pursuing economic activity to implement changes more rapidly and adopt more flexibility. These forces should promote differentiation according to effectiveness and create mass support and a public spirit able to engender a broad mass base for this great undertaking and to accept also the contradictions and temporary difficulties that are concomitants.

It is often broached among economists -- it was discussed at a recently held ideological conference as well -- how, in fact, we could characterize the advancement that is necessary: A further development of the reform or some sort of a new reform. I feel that this is not a mere terminological dispute concerning only a narrow circle of experts, because adopting a position determines also the direction of changes deemed as necessary. In 1968, we radically changed the system of the macro-management of our socialist planned economy: We replaced the mechanism previously based on fundamentally mandatory directives with one based mainly on indirect regulation Admittedly, in the 1968 measures we have not fully realized the fundamental principles endorsed at the 1966 Central Committee session. We have built safety checks into the mechanism and, as has been noted, deviated from them, mistakenly or out of necessity, also later. However, taking all that into consideration, it can be concluded that our system of management of the national economy also today rests on the principles endorsed in 1966. To more than a small extent, our successes, the fact that we are holding our own even under more difficult conditions, is due to this.

Thus, it is not true that a reform of the reform, some "second reform," is needed. Such an objective is unjustified, because there is no need for a qualitative change such as the one made in 1968 in the mechanism of the macro-management of the socialist planned economy. Irrespective of intentions, demanding a "second reform" does not raise an alternative similar to plan directives or fundamentally indirect macro-management. Instead, it is a denial of the primacy of the plan for the people's economy, a withdrawal of the state from the economy to an extent that is not deemed conceivable nowadays even in the capitalist countries.

Without doubt there is a need for a further development of our system of the management of the national economy. It is also clear that this is not at all easy under the present conditions, and that there is no panacea from which we could expect a rapid change. We must strive simultaneously to consolidate the equilibrium that has been attained, make a more economical use of the resources that can be exploited in the present circumstances, work out plans that lay the foundations in a longer term for more rapid development and further develop the management of the national economy.

Everyone agrees that a complex further development, one encompassing the entirety of the management of the national economy, is needed. However, there are disputes over whether measures should be introduced in one package or step by step. Without prematurely adopting a position on this issue, one thing seems certain -- and that is that the steps to be taken should be clarified as soon as possible. Only thus can our measures possibly produce an effect in the direction of the necessary changes even today.

Accepting Also Risks

As far as the main direction of the further development of the management of the national economy is concerned, this can be deduced from the basic measures implemented since 1979. Also the party's 12th congress has adopted a position in this respect. Accordingly, more than minor changes are needed in planning, regulation and the institution system alike -- that is, in all three elements of the management of the national economy. The task is to develop an economic environment which makes it possible for the main economic policy objectives to assert themselves more effectively than at present in planning, an environment which makes the fluctuation and regrouping of economic factors more free and which ensures more independence for enterprises and not only makes it possible for them, but also forces them, to improve their economic activity and makes a spirit of enterprise and willingness to take the initiative unfold.

To attain these objectives, it is necessary to regulate in a new manner relations between the state and enterprises; control of socialist property, the authority to supervise its operation, and the methods of supervision, and the appointment of economic managers and the method of selecting them, the manner in which their work is judged and the factors determining their economic incentives. However, in some places modifications and readjustments are required not only in this area. They are timely also in price regulation, workforce management, income policy, foreign trade and other areas.

The further development of the reform, the introduction of new methods of macro-management, particularly in the present situation, is not devoid of risk and inevitably involves social conflicts as well. However, as in 1968, the party is not afraid of it. We know, for instance, that greater differentiation among enterprises and an inevitable bankruptcy of some will call forth the old reflexes and voices desirous of an alleviation of the greater strictness of normative regulation. We know that greater workforce fluctuation and an income policy more in keeping with performances will encounter the difficulties of insistence on customary and egalitarian endeavors. However, all this must be accepted, and, if the people are aware of the objectives served by the modification of the management of the national economy and understand our intentions, then, similarly to the years following 1968, they will indeed actively support the further development of the reform.

PZPR DAILY ON SNAGS IN BUSH, SHULTZ MISSIONS

AU021207 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Jan 83 p 7

[Z. Broniarek commentary: "Two Politicians on the Move...."]

[Text] Two highly placed U.S. politicians have begun traveling around the world almost at the same time. U.S. Vice President George Bush has begun his trip to seven capitals in Western Europe and Secretary of State George Shultz has begun his trip to Japan, China, South Korea, and Hong Kong. The purpose of the Bush trip is to win the West Europeans' agreement to deploying Euromissiles on their territories, and the purpose of the Shultz trip...well, we will presently see what it is.

Bush will have a hard nut to crack because people are slowly but consistently taking the view that the question of the Euromissiles is turning into an increasingly more acute line of division between those who want to halt the arms race and those who want it to continue. The fact is that the number of the former is increasing.

Everyone now knows that the question of the Euromissiles will be one of the main elements of the election campaign in the FRG. Although no elections are planned for the present in Great Britain, the question of the Euromissiles is also becoming acute there as proved by Foreign Secretary Francis Pym's speech to the Conservatives in Cambridge last Sunday. Pym had to resort to an inaccuracy, to say the least, in order to counter the increasing antimissile movement. It is true that he expressed "understanding" for the "intentions" of the British women who demonstrated in front of the U.S. base that will receive the cruise missiles, but, at the same time, he evaluated their demonstration as a struggle for...the West's unilateral disarmament. This is a strange thing to say for a representative of the government that refuses to include its own medium-range missiles in the disarmament negotiations, pretending that no such missiles exist. But they do exist, and the Warsaw Pact countries cannot ignore them. Who is then for unilateral disarmament -- British women or Foreign Secretary Pym?

Shultz's task is less complicated. He is going to Japan and South Korea ostensibly to discuss trade issues, but the world public cannot help being aware that this trip is taking place against the background of the increasingly more frequent reports that...a Washington-Seoul-Tokyo military axis is in the making and that this is bound to aggravate the Far East situation. China is another chapter: The idyll of 2 years ago is being followed by more and more signs of disputes and conflicts between the United States and Beijing. In addition, the "specter" of Sino-Soviet rapprochement is a bugbear for U.S. politicians.

This means that we can be at one with Bush and Shultz on one point: that their trips are certainly no pleasure. Since travel educates, perhaps we may express a modest and useful wish that these two trips should influence the views of Bush and Shultz (and of their boss) in line with the realities of our world.

NETHERLANDS EXPECTED TO PRESS BUSH ON ARMS TALKS

LD021148 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 2 Feb 83

[Text] U.S. Vice President George Bush, who is touring the West European countries, will have talks today in the Hague. No doubt he will meet there with insistance that Washington should make a more serious approach to the talks with Moscow on the search for a compromise designed to limit nuclear missiles on our continent.

WARSAW CRITICIZES FRG MINISTER'S REMARKS

LD030050 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 1 Feb 83

[Marian Podkowinski commentary]

[Text] FRG Interior Minister Friderich Zimmermann, member of Chancellor Helmut Kohl's cabinet, as we know, has aired his views at a resettlers' congress in Munich concerning the so-called German question. In his opinion, the German question still exists; the problem will not be resolved until the unification of Germany within the frontiers of the Third Reich of 1937. Herr Zimmermann's statements did not surprise me. I must admit that I had expected such a statement during the election campaign, when the CDU has to collect all the votes, even of the most extreme right, in order to gain the desired victory over the Social Democrats and other parties. It is nothing new in the electoral tradition of the CDU/CSU, if we recall the times of Konrad Adenauer, who always, in an election campaign, came for the annual resettlers' meeting in Duesseldorf or Hamburg and promised, in exchange for votes, a return to the former family regions. And we know how these matters ended later. The Ostpolitik of Brandt and Schmidt has now been disavowed, not only by Minister Zimmermann.

(?I want) to point out that Karten Voigt, the spokesman of the Social Democrats, appealed to Chancellor Kohl at least, in order to be credible, to dismiss Minister Zimmermann, who is greatly harming West Germany and peace. Herr Kohl's Government Spokesman Herr Diether Stolze stated at a press conference that the government shares Herr Zimmermann's views, because they are constitutionally compatible with the various internal laws, as far as the constitutional tribunal is concerned, as if the Potsdam Treaty, the Eastern agreements, and normalization did not exist. All that has been called up to now by Kohl [words indistinct] suddenly, in one speech, [words indistinct] that all this does not in fact exist.

In my opinion, and I have some experience from the period of my stay in West Germany and from my work on German (?issues), we should not get into a frenzy over this problem, but it must not be treated lightly. I suppose that those Germans who love peace, those Germans from the FRG who remember that 50 years ago Hitler came to power on the basis of anti-Versailles revisionalism, will make themselves heard. I expect that Herr Brandt, Herr Schmidt and Herr Vogel will answer Herr Zimmermann, because what he said does harm to the interests of the German nation, because Europe said its last word a long time ago. The Potsdam order, which for 37 years has guaranteed peace in Europe, is the sole base on which Europe can count if it wants a lasting peace. For that reason, in condemning Herr Zimmermann's statement, we should be aware as Poles, as those who know what imperialism and German revisionism leads to, that regardless of what Herr Zimmermann says, our frontiers, our (?attitude), our policy supported by the great bloc of socialist countries and all those forces in West Europe that want peace, and also those forces in the FRG who want peace, all this is a great barrier, so that what Herr Zimmermann said may perhaps be good in an election campaign, but Europe must pay no attention to it.

SZTANDAR MLODYCH VIEWS FRANKS' FALKLANDS REPORT

AU011245 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 27 Jan 83 p 5

[Pawel Makowski commentary: "'The Falklands Fortress' or a Step Backward"]

[Excerpt] The 106-page report issued by the so-called Lord Franks Commission to inquire into the reasons and responsibility for the Falklands conflict was an event among the events that followed this 1982 conflict.

The commission, which was made up of representatives of various political groups, established that Mrs Thatcher's government had not been able to foresee and counter the Argentine invasion last April. Responsibility for this was laid at the door of the British intelligence service and, to some extent, of the Foreign Office. The Franks report proved to be a success for Mrs Thatcher. While errors and clumsiness were ascribed to other people, the prime minister was cleared of any charges and could bask in the glories of victory.

Since the Franks report was favorable to the Conservatives, it is assumed that it can speed up parliamentary election, in which the "Falklands factor" may prove an important bargaining counter.

While the Argentines began a diplomatic offensive, Great Britain has decided to strengthen its rule in the South Atlantic. At the present there are some 5,000 British soldiers assisted by the Royal Navy and 12 Phantoms, which continue to patrol the 200-mile zone around the Falklands. These soldiers are stationed in the islands with 1,800 inhabitants. It is estimated that the cost of the upkeep of this force amounts to 420 million pounds a year. It is obvious that Great Britain cannot afford to prolong such a state of affairs ad infinitum, which does not at all mean that Mrs Thatcher's government is looking for the possibilities of honorably leaving the islands. On 18 January Margaret Thatcher announced in Parliament that the policy of the "Falkland Fortress" would continue. These are not empty words.

Last year's conflict about the Falklands-Malvinas has made it once again obvious to the Argentines how deep their country's crisis is. It has also made it obvious to the British what real dangers the colonial heritage brings with itself in the form of hundreds of casualties. The British flag continues to flutter over the Falklands, but the conflict continues, threatening another outbreak.

In connection with the current events about the Falklands the Western press has published something that happened 30 years ago. Secret British documents released after 30 years of secrecy had disclosed that Prime Minister Winston Churchill planned to send out infantry units to the Falklands in 1952, but his plan for a "Falklands Fortress" did not materialize.

JARUZELSKI, SIWICKI MEET WITH MARSHAL KULIKOV

LD022318 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 2 Feb 83

[Text] First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Premier General Wojciech Jaruzelski has received the supreme commander of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, who was on a working visit to Poland. During the meeting, which took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere, there was discussion of the activity of the detached forces of the Polish People's Army, within the framework of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee and the 15th session of the pact foreign ministers, which took place in Prague this year. Taking part in the talk was the chief of staff of the Polish Army, Deputy Minister of National Defense General Florian Siwicki. Also present was the representative of the Joint Forces Supreme Command to the Polish Army, General Afanasiy Shcheglov.

PAP OUTLINES POLISH-USSR TRADE BALANCE

LD030025 Warsaw PAP in English 1418 GMT 2 Feb 83

[Text] Moscow 1 Feb -- Despite many objective difficulties experienced by the Polish economy, the 1982 Polish-Soviet commodity exchange was developing favourably.

It helped maintain the continuity of production in Polish industry, ensured more effective use of its processing capacities, and influenced improvement in the supplies for the Polish home market. According to preliminary data, the 1982 value of Polish-Soviet commodity turnover totalled 9,026 million roubles, out of which Polish exports amounted to 4,202 million and imports 4,824 million roubles.

The Soviet Union's share in Polish commodity exchange with abroad exceeds one third. Poland sends about 32 percent of her exported goods to the USSR and she purchases over 41 percent of all her imported raw materials and industrial products there. For instance, the deliveries of 114,700 tonnes of Soviet cotton were very important for Polish textile industry.

The imports of Soviet fuels were especially important for the Polish economy which received 5,621 million cubic metres of gas (21 million metres over the contract figure) and 12,945,000 tonnes of crude oil, 195,000 tonnes more than provided for by contracts. Poland also imported 590,000 tonnes of car petrol and other fuels.

In the situation of sanctions against Poland, applied by capitalist countries, the supplies of Soviet raw materials, fuels, production materials are the main source, and in case of crude oil, natural gas, asbestos and pig iron they are the only source of the import deliveries for the Polish economy.

Raw materials, fuels and production materials accounted for 75 percent of the entire Polish imports from [word indistinct].

Additional deliveries of inter-mediate and raw materials from the USSR made it possible to more fully use production capacities of the Polish light industry, especially the textile one, and partially of the engineering and the chemical industries.

Poland also received assistance in marketables.

The value of Polish exports exceeded contractual obligations by 5.4 percent. The implementation of the export obligations to the USSR in 1982 was much better than in 1981, although in 1982 Poland still had a deficit in her commodity turnover with the USSR which amounted to 622 million roubles. However, it was smaller than in 1982 and than the one scheduled at the beginning of 1982.

To cover the payment deficit, Soviet authorities grant Poland a credit on favourable terms, with its repayment rescheduled after 1985.

COMMUNIQUE ON GASPAR'S VISIT 31 JAN-2 FEB

LD030346 Budapest MTI in English 1743 GMT 2 Feb 83

["Gaspar's Visit to Poland -- Communique' -- MTI headline]

[Text] Warsaw, February 2 (MTI) -- A delegation of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (CCTU), headed by Secretary-General Sandor Gaspar, member of the HSWP Political Committee and chairman of the World Federation of Trade Unions, paid a visit to Poland from January 31 to February 2.

The delegation met Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PUWP Central Committee.

The delegation held discussions with Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the PUWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, who briefed them on present socio-political conditions and the development of trade unions in Poland.

In Warsaw the delegation met members of the national seminary studying trade union issues and presidents of trade union committees and union foundation committees in Warsaw. During a one-day visit to Lodz the delegation held discussions with trade union activists in the "Protectors of Peace" cotton factory, the "Wera" clothes factory and party workers of the city.

The delegation paid a visit to the Presidium of the Social Consultative Committee affiliated to the Council of State and heard a briefing on the committee's work by Professor Zbigniew Salwa.

Discussions were marked by a cordial and friendly atmosphere and the spirit of mutual understanding. The sides exchanged views on party and union activity.

The revival of Polish trade unions was appreciated and the necessity of the strengthening of their positions in factories and the observance of their independence discussed.

The discussions and meetings were attended by Stanislaw Gabrielski, head of the Social and Professional Department of the PUWP CC.

Gaspar Press Conference Report

LD030350 Warsaw PAP in English 2012 GMT 2 Feb 83

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Feb -- "I think that evaluation of the new Polish trade union law does not belong to us. We assume that it corresponds to Polish conditions. Our task is to help with implementation of what is contained in that law," said Sandor Gaspar, chairman of the World Federation of Trade Unions and general secretary of the National Council of Hungary's trade unions, now on a friendly visit to Poland, said at press conference in Warsaw today.

Summing up the results of his visit to Poland, Sandor Gaspar declared that he met a group of nearly a thousand persons. He answered many questions. He said that the purpose of the visit was to get personal acquaintance of the situation in Poland.

"I was gratified to learn that a healthy process giving considerable results has begun in Poland. What is taking place in Poland now inspires hope, compared with the past one notices a sense of responsibility and readiness to act among many young people," Sandor Gaspar told newsmen.

Asked about the attitude in the World Federation of Trade Unions to the former trade union Solidarnosc, Sandor Gaspar said that the federation had had no contacts with Solidarnosc and neither side had striven to establish contacts.

"I am not assessing the intentions of Solidarnosc. This must be done soberly and without illusion by the Polish comrades at a time when the Polish Government had to take a weighty decision. It constituted the best method to avert a catastrophe. The working class movement cannot rejoice over martial law, but it should take note of this necessity," said Sandor Gaspar.

Asked which of the experiences of the Hungarian trade union movement he would mention as valuable for the Polish trade unions, the Hungarian visitor emphasized that he was reluctant to speak about these matters because he did not think that Hungarian experience must be the best pattern to follow. At the same time, he spoke of the necessity to take into account each country's specificity and the need to choose solutions which best fit the given country.

Sandor Gaspar also answered a number of questions concerning the Hungarian trade union movement, the system of (?social) democracy in his country, attributing the causes of crises in certain socialist countries, among other things, to the fact that trade unions were unable to fulfil their mission properly.

"Trade unions cannot be a static body. Unless they can change according to the existing situation, they are incapable of fulfilling their mission and act," said Sandor Gaspar.

"In our country, we have brought the authorities closer to the people. The working people is the manager. The party, the government and the trade unions serve the nation. And this is the [word indistinct] of our policy" emphasized the speaker.

GORYWODA ATTACKS REAGAN, SEES DOMESTIC RIFT

AU021155 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Jan 83 p 4

[Report on speech by PZPR Central Committee Secretary Manfred Gorywoda at the 29 January PZPR accountability-programmatic conference in Bielsko-Biala Voivodship]

[Text] Speaking at the end of the conference, M. Gorywoda recalled some of the achievements of 1982 in the political, social, and economic spheres and noted the progressive increase in the effectiveness and significance of the party as the driving force behind these achievements. He stressed that the fact that the party is consistently sticking in domestic and foreign policies to the line of the reforms mapped out by the ninth party congress is of crucial importance in this connection.

He said, we are only at the beginning of the process of overcoming our crisis in all spheres of life. We should be aware of this in whatever we do, all the more so since our political adversary has not laid down his arms, as shown by the violent reaction of the Reagan administration, which is unable to come to terms with the failure of its plans to use Poland as a political detonator.

Nor would it be correct to assume that all our people support the party's policy, M. Gorywoda continued, because we still have to win over large sections of our people with credible activities. Although the basic economic tasks were fulfilled and even overfulfilled in 1982, the losses that we suffered before 1982 continue to complicate our economic situation, which to a great extent is responsible for the development of our domestic political situation.

It is true that we have a program for overcoming the crisis in line with the precepts of the ninth party congress as well as of the Eihth and Ninth Central Committee Plenums, but the implementation of this program requires time and intensified efforts by all our people, all the more so since we have to implement it in crucially different and more difficult conditions.

This means, M. Gorywoda continued, that we must take many measures. We must better exploit our domestic base of raw materials, cut the costs and increase the quality of production, sort out the structure of employment, tighten our cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries, especially the USSR, invest more rationally and wisely, improve the use of the scientific research base and strictly stick to the principles and spirit of the economic reform, in which there is no place for any kind of short-sighted parochialism.

We do not have to prove, M. Gorywoda continued, that tolerating unjustified wage increases, which are not matched by improved productivity and production, is a short-sighted policy that in the end harms the working people's interests through increased prices, profiteering, and shortages of market goods. The wage and price race will take us nowhere. That is why the principles of the economic reform were modernized as of 1 January of this year.

The performance of enterprises will be evaluated accordingly and, if necessary, personnel changes will be made. An anti-inflation program is at last being prepared and will soon be considered by the Sejm.

A number of other sectors of the national economy are being streamlined.

The sum total of all these activities, M. Gorywoda said in conclusion, will determine the credibility of the power apparatus in the eyes of the working people and, consequently, the progress along the road to national agreement. This is all the more important since the party's program can be implemented only with the total militancy of all party members and with the support of all our people.

LE FIGARO: JARUZELSKI FACES 'DECISIVE CHOICE'

PM011109 Paris LE FIGARO in French 29-31 Jan 83 p 2

[Bernard Margueritte dispatch: "Jaruzelski in a Blind Alley"]

[Text] Warsaw [no date given] -- Independent observers in the Polish capital are aware that the country's leaders are drawing nearer and nearer to the time when they must make choices which will once again be decisive.

From the government's viewpoint the policy pursued hitherto has achieved a number of undoubted successes: It has made it possible to avoid confrontations between the extremists on both sides and the possible tragedy of a foreign intervention; it has restored at least superficial control over the situation by the authorities; and it has halted the economic hemorrhage. And yet the general feeling today is that this policy has had its day. It has attained all that it could attain and is scarcely capable of going any further. There is stagnation everywhere and frustration and malaise are spreading. The situation has become so untenable at the political, economic, and social levels that it will soon be necessary to choose between a minimum program of national reconciliation or a move to Stalinism pure and simple.

Of course, not all the leaders are prepared to face the situation, like the top party figure who said to me: "The only alternative is the success of the present policy with this team or a different one, or else confrontation and adventure."

When I asked him whether that "adventure" might take the form of a "fraternal intervention" by the Warsaw Pact, he answered angrily: "But in fact that is the only alternative, and I do not understand why the French leaders cannot accept that. Do they want Poland to launch into an adventure? How can they think that that would be in France's interest?'

The government's present policy is based on a number of major principles which I have discussed here, but which must be recalled: fierce struggle against "the antisocialist forces," elimination of all the independent social forces which might stir up opposition, modus vivendi with the church, pragmatism and reform in the economic sphere, transformation of the state structures aimed at seeking efficiency, and a controlled socialist democratization.

Ineffectual Policy

The unfortunate thing is that this gives rise in practice to a particularly tortuous and confused line. For instance, Solidarity is banned, which satisfies the party "hardliners" and the Soviets, but an attempt is made to win over the country by putting forward a fairly liberal trade union law; martial law is suspended in the hope of winning over a section of the population, but a very firm law is passed aimed at

appeasing the Kremlin; preparations are being made to try the opposition leaders very soon, but at the same time to release virtually all political prisoners; etc.

The problem is that this policy may well be the only one possible from the government's viewpoint, but it is certainly ineffectual and doomed to failure. It has now resulted in complete deadlock since in the final analysis it has not satisfied anybody. The hostility of the majority of the population is well known and it is not necessary to dwell on it again. On the other hand, conversations which I have just had with Soviets posted to Warsaw -- which, it is true, do not necessarily reflect Mr Andropov's viewpoint — have convinced me that many people in the Kremlin did not really apprecaite General Jaruzelski's policy. The family photograph taken in Prague during the recent Communist summit was, moreover, revealing: Mr Husak was at the center of the line with Mr Andropov on his right and Mr Kadar and Mr Jaruzelski at the two ends. Moreover, the photograph was not published by the Polish press and Warsaw journalists maintain that the copies of NEUES DETUSCHLAND and RUDE PRAVO which carried it were not on sale on the country's newsstands.

A Soviet colleague to whom I mentioned these apparent reservations by his friends told me, probably with a great deal of accuracy: "Of course Jaruzelski's policy is causing a great deal of discontent at the level of impulses and feelings, but at the political level we have no choice but to support it fully." It is a pity that the Western leaders are unable to separate feelings from politics as well as that.

Return to Wisdom

The present team undoubtedly wants to adopt the Hungarian path and adapt it to Poland's characteristics. For it the outlook to 1990 is clear, and the problem is that it does not really know what to do to attain it and does not seem capable of finding either the appropriate methods or the appropriate men for doing so. For a while it thought it had all the time in the world. It is beginning to realize that it now only has a few months and that its policy is completely blocked at present.

However, that may be the start of a return to wisdom. Three phenomena are pushing the government in that direction:
-- the economic crisis, whose constant worsening is forcing the government to show caution and make some concessions to avoid a new social explosion;
-- the internal disagreements within both Solidarity and the ruling party might favor the moderates in the two camps;
-- the Soviet peace offensive: The main objective for Mr Andropov this year is obviously to prevent the deployment of the Pershing missiles in Europe; a tougher line, or disturbances in Poland, would scuttle his "peace offensive," giving General Jaruzelski more room to maneuver for a few months if he is prepared to seize this opportunity.

Some signs would seem to indicate that he intends to do so. After sanctioning Mr Grabski, the party might bring into line the social sciences school, whose director Mr Michta is one of the theoreticians of dogmatism. On Wednesday Minister Baka announced a speeding up and very clear extension of the economic reform for 1983. As well as in the 1,400 enterprises controlled by the government, worker self-management may operate fully as from 1 April, but the decisive test will of course be agreement or the pope's visit. If it is withdrawn that would open the door to a victory by the "hardliners" and the implementation of a neo-Stalinist policy of division. If, however, the visit takes place as planned, it could give impetus to the vital national reconciliation.

Thus General Jaruzelski and his team have a simple choice: They must either find their second wind and the dynamism they need, or prepare for a fall in the coming months which would also be the country's fall. The West must also be aware of that.

INTERVIEWS ON PZPR STRENGTHS, WEAKNESSES

Urbanski Views Weaknesses, Struggles

AU310833 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Jan 83 p 3

[Interview with Jerzy Urbanski, chairman of the Central Party Control Commission by Anna Rawlowska: "Community of Ideas and Committed and Disciplined Activities"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] One of the main streams of the discussions during the present accountability campaign is party unity and the ways to enhance it, the persisting weaknesses, ideological considerations, and organizational principles, Why is this so?

[Answer] I think this is primarily so because of the experience of the period since the ninth party congress. It was a period of the crystallization of party unity amidst a sharp political struggle. Our struggle against the political adversary is continuing and is proving that the party's strength and ability to act is determined precisely by ideological and organizational unity. When the party went to its congress it was disarrayed internally, many comrades continued to succumb to alien ideologies, the party's organization was losing ground and mutual trust was vanishing. The ninth congress itself and its programmatic results -- the reaffirmation of Marxism-Leninism as the party's ideology, and of democratic centralism as the foundation of internal party life -- initiated positive changes.

But that was only a beginning. The further stages of this process took place in the course of a fierce struggle, which was a test for party members. Those lacking the roughness to withsrand the pressures of this struggle dropped out; the hypocritical dropped their masks; and those who survived became aware of the importance of unity as the necessary prerequisite for the effective performance of all party echelons. The Politburo resolution on deepending the party's unity and effective performance gave a new encouragement to this process. By the way, this resolution was adopted at the beginning of the suspension of martial law. As a result, the struggle for the purity and unity of party ranks and for the justice, honesty, and integrity of social life has not been suspended and will never be suspended.

[Question] This process is continuing with the participation of party control commissions....

[Answer] No doubt, but let us not overestimate this participation. Control commissions intervene only when party organizations or cells are not able to take an objective and principled stand on certain issues. Party organizations have dealt with increasing frequency with these issues, without waiting for us and for the intervention of a party cell. This is also quite an important proof that the party is regaining its health and strength.

[Question] Do you want to say that the less interference by control commissions, the healthier the party is?

[Answer] Certainly, although this is only one of the many elements of the party's revival. To me the principal function of party control commissions is to create a climate in which interference in the form of arbitrary verdicts is unnecessary. I keep on repeating this to my comrades at work. Nor do I believe that the possibility of being frightened by the sanctions imposed by control commission could be the main panacea for party ills -- a means to effectively rectify comrades' erroneous attitudes.

This process takes place in a much more complicated area of perception, of ideological and political maturity, and, at times, of man's elementary honesty. The issue is not that this or that comrade should stop violating party statutes only because he is afraid of possible consequences. The issue is that, as a result of various actions, especially those by his parent organization, he should become convinced that his conduct, which is in conflict with party statutes, harms the party. This is precisely why we are trying to devote more and more time to preventive and educational activities as well as to talks and disucssions with comrades.

[Question] But do you not think that some party members have no deeper understanding for the principles professed by the party?

[Answer] Certainly. Despite the passage of time, the knowledge and, above all, the understanding of the statutes and of the Central Committee, successive resolutions are not as universal as they should be. There are many reasons for this, and I think that the long-standing negligence of internal party life is also a factor. After all, we all know the various shortcomings of training work and the lowered standards of admission to the party. This negligence continues to harm the party and to increase the work of control commissions.

As you know, the control commissions' task is to watch over the purity of party ranks, which is a very extensive commitment. Dishonesty, offenses against ethics, the wrong attitude toward people, and private advantage are features that are easy to identify and pin down. The same is true of offenses against organizational discipline, of passivity, of failure to discharge party duties, of missing party meetings, and of refusal to pay party membership fees. It is much more difficult to pass judgment on views and to draw that sensitive border between searching and doubting, on the one hand, and ideological alienation, on the other. To do this one must not only be principled, but also possess knowledge, practical experience, and honesty. It is important not to lable anyone rashly. To me the basic criterion for evaluating the attitudes and views of individual comrades is the compatibility of their conduct with the broadly conceived statutory principles.

[Question] I have a question which seems to be "eternally" asked about our movement: Can a united and disciplined party be an internally democratic party at the same time?

[Answer] This is precisely the crux of correctly conceived and practiced democratic centralism. In this connection it is necessary to ensure that freedom of discussion and discipline in implementing resolutions harmoniously complement each other, which is quite a difficult task. It is easier to lecture on this issue than to see that internal party life proceeds along these lines. The decision to join the party is and should be a conscious resignation from a certain part of one's "ego" in favor of the principal aims mapped out by the entire party. After all, this is the requirement that has to be met when one joins the Marxist-Leninist party. Unless it is met, party membership is superficial and a matter of statistics, and shows this most glaringly during great political showdowns.

After the seventh Central Committee plenum we launched the necessary efforts to enable party members to define themselves. I do not think I would be able to tell you how universal and profound this self-verification was, but I have no doubt that hundreds of thousands of comrades did square their own accounts, did honestly compare their thoughts, emotions, and wishes with the stand of the party on the basic issues of the country and with party ideology and organizational requirements, and did reaffirm their place in the consciously disciplined ideological community that we all should constitute in the struggle for socialist renewal. We view this renewal not as a revision of the basic tenets of socialism, but -- on the contrary -- as the genuine revival of genuine ideological, moral, class, and internationalist principles not tainted by errors and distortions.

The party is interested in a renewal which will disappoint our enemies and will convince the doubtful that socialism is a system which is able to ensure the development of the economy, material affluence, and the blossoming of people's spiritual values, and that we can avoid errors while building this system. For this we must have democratic relations and discipline in the party, but discipline must not be blind and leaden. Such discipline is worthless. Good discipline must be based on ideological perception. Precisely such discipline must reign throughout the party -- from top to bottom without exception.

[Question] However, all the time you have been talking of discipline rather than democracy.... Please be specific on this question: Are there any intransgressible limits to party discussions and free exchanges of views?

[Answer] Limits of what? Of subjects? I think that no subjects are or should be taboo in the party. I can think of no subject that could not be discussed in the party from Marxist-Leninist positions, of course. However, party discussions must take place above all within the party and not outside it. The party acts in the open, and it is no accident that we attach so much importance to this openness, which is an element of our ties with people and enables us to make corrections if the party begins to deviate from people. We also have the right to dispute things at times in closed circles. Not every period of time is favorable to discussion. As you know, we do not discuss the adopted resolutions in the party because valid resolutions should be implemented and not discussed. Such discussions are not good. As you know we had such discussions not so long ago. They paralyzed -- consciously or unconsciously -- the party's ability to act in difficult conditions, distracted its attention from important problems, and made it attend to secondary issues.

[Question] One more "Eternal" question: If someone is right, and this has been confirmed by subsequent events, is this someone justified in violating discipline and in refusing to toe the party line?

[Answer] Of course, we can imagine a situation in which some people are right on some question, but have to obey the will of the majority, even though they are right. But we should bear in mind that the more genuine freedom of discussion and clashes of views -- in line with the statutes and democratic centralism, that is, before a decision is made -- there are in the party, the smaller the danger that such aforementioned situations arise, because in such a case it is always possible that those who are right will convince the remaining comrades. This is what Lenin often did. When isolated in his views, he knew how to win his comrades by personal authority and primarily by the force of his arguments, by an analysis of conditions and by the logic of his proposals.

If people turn their arguments into a separate political platform, and press them into a separate organizational structure then a mortal threat to the party develops in the shape of factional disruption. No arguments and reasons can justify such activities. Thus, speaking of party discipline, I have in mind conscious discipline above all.

[Question] Some people take the view that violating the party line can be more or less harmful, depending on whether it orginates on the "left" or on the "right...."

[Answer] Attempts to divide the party are not a new subject. A leading activist of our movement said most aptly at one time, that the entire party is the van of the social leftwing, and, therefore, every group within the party, no matter what banner it chooses, is neither on the left, nor on the right, nor in the center, but is simply a promoter of the party's weakness. And a weak party helps strengthen political adversaries.

In the past 2 years we have witnessed various attempts to "cure" the party. Those who advocated these cures regarded their ideas as "better" than the ideas of others. But the party line is only one -- the line of the ninth party congress. The party's ideology is also one -- the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. The party's organizational shape is one, too, and is determined by its statutes. He who tries to violate these principles, no matter what arguments he adduces -- "novel" or "orthodox" -- always harms the party. And he who consciously violates the party statutes must realize that he will be called to order with all severity and that this will also be done by party control commissions.

There are many examples to show that the decisions of the adjudication teams of the party control commissions, concerning the people who did not improve their conduct, were severe and included removal from the party. For example, in 1982 the Central Party Control Commission and the voivodship party control commissions removed 813 people from the party. This figure included over 500 people who had violated ideopolitical and organizational principles.

We attach particular attention to ensuring that punishment plays primarily an educational role. This is why the comrades who have made an error and violated the party statutes, but who have displayed self-criticism, should always be given an opportunity to make good. The point is to win them over and not to reject them; to convince them with arguments and not to compel them by formal measures to be obedient. Another point is to ensure that not only the punished, but also the other comrades who not always observe the statutes, should draw conclusions from the punishment pronounced by the control commissions.

[Question] Comrade Chairman, you are a long standing party member and were a delegate to the ninth party congress. You are 55 years old and have been in the party for 38 years. You joined the party as a very young man, and it is safe to assume that party principles have had a more direct influence on you than on the people who join the party at more mature ages. Does this help you in your present function? Or is it a handicap at times?

[Answer] My experience, which I have won in politically not always peaceful times, has certainly been of help. It has protected me against rashness of judgment and it has enjoined me to listen and understand other people. However, I have to be very careful not to become rigid and use simple comparisons, which may be deceptive nowadays.

I always try to remember that my function and my participation in the party control commissions do not make me automatically more clever and just. They enjoin me and my comrades to be primarily party men who, as Lenin said, will not believe any word without checking on it and will not speak a word against their own conscience.

[Question] However, you have special duties. You and your comrades have been chosen to watch over party principles in an extremely complicated practice of political and social life.

[Answer] We have been chosen by party conferences and are the echelons party that is independent in the sphere of party judgments from party committees, which no doubt enhances the status of our work but which also raises our responsibilities and self-control. This means that we must never, under any circumstances and under any excuse use our statutory powers in a way that is politically irresponsible. I think that although at times we are dissatisfied with the present results of our work, we have not made a crucial error that we would have to be ashamed of in the future. We have done a great deal to strengthen the party, despite the conditions in which we do our work. At the present voivodship party conferences, the control commissions continue to tell the delegates about their work, to submit their evaluations, and to listen to their appraisals by the delegates.

[Question] What should be the primary purpose of party justice, the executors of which are party control commissions?

[Answer] The primary purpose of party justice should be to ensure that party unity is becoming more and more a community of ideas and a conscious discipline of party members, that the requirement of discipline does not hinder creative exchanges of party ideas, and that the demand for democracy does not introduce anarchy into internal party life and paralyze party activity.

Barcikowski on Strength, Policy

PM011311 Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 20 Jan 83 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, by KURIER SZCZECINSKI correspondent Maciej Czekala; interview given "after 19 January accountability conference of the Szczecin Voivodship PZPR Committee"; place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] After the conference drew to a close, we asked Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski for a brief interview.

[Question] Comrade Barcikowski, you said in your speech just a moment ago that the party is already strong and that we have already left that difficult period of internal struggle behind. But then in your very next words you stated that there are still some people in the party who maintain that the party is weak. Who are those people?

[Answer] I never said that the party was strong. I said that it was stronger, that it was being restored to life, that it showed initiative, that it had grasped that initiative, and that the scope of its activity was increasing. At the same time some negative phenomena still occur, and we must continue to fight against them. We must fight and overcome them now, as soon as possible. I think that the circumstances are favorable.

As regards the people.... Quite simply, there are some who hold different views. There are also those whose assessment of the situation within the party is different from my own, or from that of the party leadership. They do not make up a faction. They represent a viewpoint that is slightly more harsh, resulting to a certain extent from their own personal disappointments and the resulting bitterness. It is true that a certain group of people within the party have recently found themselves in a difficult personal situation, and this often influences their judgment.

I do, however, believe that those who are keeping active are able to see the positive points. They see them in sharper focus, perhaps they even see more clearly than the other what they want to see, but it is they who are closer to the truth.

[Question] The opinion was expressed in the course of today's conference that the authorities are too liberal toward the activities of the so-called underground. The lack of strict adherence to our principles with regard to the underground is regarded as evidence of the party's weakness....

[Answer] In the first place, I think the authorities' reaction is quite firm. We did not, after all, hesitate to take some decidely drastic decisions. But an authority should act with moderation, precisely because it holds authority. I spoke of that in the Sejm, and I would like to say it again now.

The success of the Polish martial law lies, among other things, in the fact that it did not deepen the existing divisions. And that was because, during that period, we never applied force or repression over and above what was strictly necessary. For if we had done so -- and such leanings did also occur to some people -- if we had taken that road, then there would have been nothing easier than to provoke an escalation of terror and coercion.... But what would it have resulted in? There would have been an even further deepening of the existing divisions. We fight for people, not against people....

[Question] "We must offer the young a chance" -- these were your words today when you gave the example of the party entrusting the function of PZPR Central Committee secretary to 30-year-old Waldemar Swirgon. But there are very many people who, holding various functions, have this to say to the young men of thirty or so: "What? Are you so keen to run things? You are far too young! You need to wait a good many years and gather a lot of experience before you can think of promotion and of directing others...."

[Answer] It is obvious that not all people are capable of directing others. We need to admit that, too. There is a certain set of qualities possessed by some to a higher degree, by some to a lower, and some do not have it at all. But those people who do have these qualities and in whom they are manifested and proved early should be given the opportunity to hold such functions earlier, because.... Well, it is quite simple: Psychologists maintain that people reach their optimal capacity for effective action around the age of 35.... And besides, youth has the qualities which I would call the courage of decision, of taking risks, of inventiveness. The experience which is gained with age and a longer working life tends to modify the zeal and willingness to take risks. An older, experienced man will say to himself: "I am not going to venture this, or that, because I know what the consequences would be for me...." The young do not enter into such remote conjecturing.... That is their strong point.... But the young must also know what the results of their actions might be for, if they do not, they will lose those general causes with which they have been entrusted and they will also lose in their own personal life. Every society needs that dynamic quality which the young people bring into it, and it also needs the stability offered by the experience of the older people....

[Question] Over the past 3 years you have involved yourself closely with Szczecin city and region. You came here when the situation was exceptionally difficult. You took up a forward position on the real fighting front virtually the moment you stepped off the train. What is it that gave you access to that position as a politician?

[Answer] I will tell you about the mistake I made today. I prepared the main points of my speech in writing correctly, but I read one thing out wrongly. For I used the phrase: "Your conference...." It is not only your conference, it is also mine. I am a member of the Szczecin party organization, I belong to the Szczecin shipyard's K-2 section branch party organization.... Coming face to face with the people can stimulate one's creative capacity, especially when one is an activist at a higher level in the organization. Such a person has fewer opportunities to meet people directly. And in our difficult and complex times, when public feelings and attitudes are very unstable, these direct contacts are the more valuable .... Owing to the specific turn of events, Szczecin became, in a nationwide context, a kind of a political laboratory. It was one of the places which determined attitudes and public feelings.... It was with total conviction that I spoke today of the confidence that the party leadership put in the Szczecin party organization in those difficult days.... It must be noted that Szczecin managed to get through that difficult period better -- or, rather, not to offend anyone -- at least no worse than other places. I must say that Szczecin's reporters and journalists deserve no mean credit for that since, on the whole, they took the correct stand in presenting and defending our party line.

[Interviewer] Thank you for talking to me.

Messner on Party, Economic Problems

AU011257 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28 Jan 83 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Zbigniew Messner, PZPR Politburo member and first secretary of the PZPR voivodship committee in Katowice by Anna Lubiejewska: "People's Problems"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] Professor, for a year now you have been in charge of the Katowice Voivodship party organization. What is this organization now?

[Answer] It is still numerically the strongest party organization in Poland. But do not interpret this fact to mean that this organization is some separate major organization. Its members went through the same shock as the entire party. This shock left our organization numerically weaker: in 1980 it totaled almost 400,000 members; it now totals 286,000. The fact that our organization is still 50 percent made up of workers is due to the character of our voivodship.

Last year we sought to stimulate our members and to strengthen the weakened ties between primary party organizations and urban-rural and urban party cells. I must say that, although there are still some shortcomings, the current party accountability campaign has greatly strengthened these ties. The course of this campaign, which was sluggish at the beginning, is becoming increasingly vital as time goes by. At their conferences party members speak of living conditions, means of subsistence, industry, agriculture, and ideological issues that belong to the party. Our voivodship organization is still not fully vanguard in character, but it is no longer weak. Having gone through a series of experiences, our party is closing its ranks and renewing its internal life. More and more party members take the view that it is necessary to raise the requirements posed for new party admissions. At the same time, we should be more accurate in establishing who left the party and for what reasons. The numerical data we have tells us nothing about psychological breakdowns or about decisions which were made under dramatic circumstances and under the pressure of events.

[Question] When will the Katowice Voivodship programmatic conference be held?

[Answer] We plan to hold it on 19 February. An important item of this conference will be an analysis of the program adopted at the previous accountability-election conference. We have to consider how far this program was implemented, but we must make allowances for the change in the times. After all, the 2 years since the previous conference was held have been exceptional. The February conference will approve the modified program for the period up to the next elections.

[Question] Which item of the 1981 program has not been implemented for sure?

[Answer] The elimination of the shortcomings of social infrastructure. We were optimistic in 1981 and believed that it would be possible to rapidly improve certain things and to build other things. Later on our excessive optimism was given a check.

[Question] The party is for cooperation between representative bodies and state administration. Does the Central Committee commission of representative bodies and self-government groups, whose chairman you are, facilitate this cooperation?

[Answer] This is certainly its aim. I would like to state that this commission deals not only with the problems of the people's councils, but also with broadly conceived self-government territorial and workers groups, as well as with all forms of social self-government institutions.

We have devoted much attention to the draft law on the people's councils, which, after having been adopted by the Sejm, will increase councillors' responsibilities vis-a-vis the electorate and will make their activities easier.

[Question] How does a professor of economics and politics evaluate the potential of science in overcoming the economic crisis?

[Answer] I have now often heard that science is useless and that it is not being exploited. I do not agree. All throughout our postwar history -- as far as I am able to look back, beginning with the first congress of Polish science, which I attended as a student -- it has been obvious that our scientific achievements are rich and are being comprehensively exploited. I have in mind basic and practical research. It is not true that the results of scientific research have not been implemented in practice in our country. What is perhaps true is that these results have not been used with equal effectiveness in all sectors of the economy. I insist that we have been able to draw up so quickly the economic reform, about which people have various correct reservations, because our economic science is of the necessary standards. At one time the Hungarians, who are now models to follow, made use of our economic ideas. This flattering opinion does not change the fact that the forms of cooperation between scientific research centers and industry should now be changed as soon as possible. Such cooperation should be most accurate and purposeful and never casual. The simple fact is that it was just a waste of money, on the one hand, and a waste of knowledge and skills, on the other, to support make-believe cooperation.

[Question] I would like to return to the problems of the people connected with the Silesia-basin region. The country's needs are such that Katowice Voivodship cannot afford to slow down its production efforts, but the density of industrial plants in some towns of your region is excessive. It has been rumored that your region's industry is to be streamlined in keeping with the letter of the economic reform. Is it possible to effect a partial dispersal of industry?

[Answer] There are 4,500 industrial plants in an area that accounts for 2 percent of Poland's total area. The question whether to eliminate or continue production crops up all the time, especially in the case of old plants that have not been modernized. However, decisions in such cases are not easy because at the present time the country needs all our products. Nevertheless, compelled by circumstances, we are making gradual changes. We have liquidated a part of the Silesia plant in Katowice and have greatly reduced the toxicogenic fumes of the Szopienice nonferrous metal mill. In addition, Miasteczko Slaskie has been given a decisive ultimatum. It is possible that this year we will close the Concordia coking plant in Zabrze, which is the only plant in the country producing pitch coke. All the Zabrze inhabitants are against the further production of this plant, except for the people who work at the coking furnaces. I had a talk with them. They were all black with smoke and tired, but they were most enthusiastic about their work because they have firm roots in that coking plant. However, they will have to give in to the just arguments of the Zabrze people. We will have to ignore economic reasons in this case. As a party organization we must not subordinate people's problems to the needs of the economy in every case. Otherwise, I could not be the first secretary.

MATERIALS MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON SUPPLIES

AU011518 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Jan 83 p 3

[Interview with Jan Antosik, minister of materials management and member of the PZPR, by Andrzej Kozminski: "Are There Enough Raw and Other Materials?"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Any progress in pulling the economy out of the crisis depends on a growth in production, and a growth in production depends on the amount of fuel,

energy, and raw and other materials available. Therefore, what does the situation with the supply of materials look like on the threshold of 1983?

[Answer] The situation depends on what we managed to achieve last year. In 1982 we achieved increased production of raw and other materials which are important for the economy. Besides coking coal, we produced more copper, cement, paper, lead, silver, fibreboard, and chipboard, as well as batteries for trucks, tractors, and agricultural and building machines. This list contains raw and other materials which are essential not only for the national economy but also for exports, giving us a chance to receive greater imports, especially for industry and agriculture.

[Question] There is, however, another side to the coin: The drop in the production of other materials is also important for the economy. What kind of products are involved here and how much has their production declined compared to last year?

[Answer] This is very relevant: The economy demands complementary supplies of raw and other materials. Last year, for example, there were no greater problems with cement, especially in the second half of the year, and yet the building industry did not fulfill its tasks because there was a shortage of finishing materials, including cables and pipes.

Among the most important raw and other materials for the economy, the production of the following was insufficient: rolled-metal goods (about 5 percent less than last year); steel pipes; plastics; cotton, woolen, and mixed fabrics; tires, power cables -- which I have already mentioned -- and aluminum (about 39 percent less). We also received one-fifth fewer imported raw and other materials than last year.

[Question] So what is there the greatest shortage of and what will there be enough of this year?

[Answer] There will be enough fuels as well as brown and coking coal. But there will be too little natural gas, as a result of which its use by industry must be restricted. There will be no shortage of cement, copper for domestic processing, fiberboard and chipboard. These are the most important items. We expect great problems with the supply of machinery for industry and with the supply of metal products for the building industry. As far as these metal products are concerned, the problem mainly concerns quality steel, bearing steel, and noncorrosive steel, as well as tinplate and thin metal sheeting for car bodies. There will also be too little paint and enamels, which demand imported ingredients, and there will also be too few tires and too little aluminum, despite their increased production. Finally, there will be an acute shortage of cables, various kinds of piping, and fixtures and sanitary installations for the building industry such as sinks, bathtubs, and gas stoves.

[Question] Nevertheless, will there on the whole be more of these raw and other materials than last year?

[Answer] According to the central annual plan, the total value of raw and other materials for production purposes will be 1.8 to 2 percent greater than last year, but a lot less than in 1979, for example. It is also assumed that imports of supplies will increase by over 10 percent compared to 1982, but when one takes the large drop in imports last year into account this will not be all that much. If these assumptions prove correct, then a growth in industrial production by 3.7 to 4 percent can be considered feasible.

[Question] And yet despite the progress we have achieved compared to last year, the shortages of raw and other materials for the economy will still be acute. On what principles will the system of supplies function in such a situation? Will they be different from those of last year?

[Answer] The range of raw and other materials and fuels covered by the central accounts has been widened by over 100 percent, from 88 items last year to 186 items this year. Let me explain right away that this has nothing to do with a return to the system of directives or to a wider distribution of raw and other materials. The purpose is quite simply to obtain essential information in order to construct the plan. So this activity is not contrary to the reform.

The extent of distribution, which is a leftover from the system of directives, will not change; there used to be 16 groups of materials for distribution and there still are. We even predict that the extent of this distribution will decrease with the exclusion of cement and some types of chipboard.

Monopolies in materials trade have increased compared with last year. This mainly concerns materials for housing construction. Giving a boost to housing construction demands coordinating tasks with the supplies of materials this connection, there are 29 more central trade organizations with a monopoly over the sale of certain materials this year than there were last year.

Finally, and this we did not have last year, supplies of materials for production covered by operational programs -- for government orders, for defense purposes, for workplaces employing invalids and for natural diasters -- have been guaranteed.

Export production, housing construction, and the production of materials for general distribution have priority in supply after the above-mentioned guaranteed production, for these principles only apply to materials which are for distribution.

[Question] What steps have been taken to ensure that supplies which have been guaranteed in operational programs and for the purpose of satisfying other important needs are actually made?

[Answer] According to the above-mentioned supply principles, 50 percent of the value of completed transactions is counted as extraordinary losses, and then those producers and central trade organizations which sell materials to people not entitled to receive them are burdened with these costs.

We have a chance of meeting our commitments concerning guaranteed production and concerning priority supply, if the national production and imports of these materials proceed in accordance with the central annual plan.

[Question] So out of all these raw and other materials, what will be left for those producers who are not involved in operational plans or in government orders?

[Answer] These producers are being supplied according to the general supply policy contained in the 1983 plan. This means that the central trade organizations which possess stocks of materials for distribution will give preference to those enterprises which enjoy the reputation of being good producers because the materials they receive will be put to the most rational use. Some 22 to 25 percent of available raw and other materials which are subject to distribution have been allocated to meet the needs of operational programs and government orders, although this percentage may vary with different kinds of materials. Therefore, three-quarters of the entire pool of raw and other materials are still left for the producers you ask about.

STAMBOLIC, DELEGATION INDONESIA VISIT CONTINUES

Stambolic Meets With Suharto

LD021347 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0902 GMT 2 Feb 83

[Text] Jakarta, 2 Feb (TANJUG) -- The meeting and talks between Petar Stambolic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Indonesian President Suharto in the Merdeka Palace in Jakarta this morning began the official Yugoslav-Indonesian talks within the framework of the visit of the top-level Yugoslav delegation to this friendly and nonaligned country.

In a separate talk and in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere, Presidents Stambolic and Suharto carried out a thorough exchange of views on the development of bilateral relations and on the present international situation. The two presidents began by making a very positive evaluation of the present degree of cooperation within the framework of the Nonaligned Movement and in other international forums.

In discussing bilateral relations Presidents Stambolic and Suharto especially advocated the expansion of economic cooperation between the two countries because -- as was explicitly pointed out -- realistic conditions for it exist. They stressed that in the economic and other spheres and in the context of the degree of cooperation obtained to date, serious possibilities exist for further links to be established between the two complementary economies and countries. In this context they recalled the positive experience already achieved in economic cooperation in view of the fact that many Yugoslav work organizations have already carried out or are carrying out work on several projects in Indonesia. The sincere wish was expressed that this cooperation might expand and continue also through higher forms of joint production, industrial cooperation and appearance on the markets of third countries, and the like.

In an exhaustive talk on international issues Presidents Stambolic and Suharto expressed the two countries' concern due to the present unfavorable situation in international relations. It was stressed that in many parts of the world there are dangerous focal points of crisis introduced by the policy of aggression, intervention and preventing states and governments from deciding for themselves about the future.

The president of the Indonesian Republic spoke in particular about the situation in Southeast Asia and briefed his guest on the efforts made by the ASEAN countries to establish stability and cooperation in that important area. However, he stressed that considerable difficulties exist in the implementation of those efforts caused by the situation in Kampuchea. For this reason, President Suharto advocated the idea that nonaligned countries should make a greater contribution to the solution of the crisis in Kampuchea.

Petar Stambolic, president of the SFRY Presidency, set forth Yugoslavia's stands on the development of the situation in Europe and the difficulties confronting the countries of this continent in ensuring the continuation of the spirit of the Helsinki European Security and Cooperation Conference.

In connection with the crisis in individual parts of the world, including Kampuchea, Petar Stambolic set forth Yugoslavia's stand on the nonacceptance of the policy of intervention under any excuse whatsoever and on the need to resolve all crises by peaceful means on the basis of UN principles and the policy of nonalignment.

With regard to the situation in the Middle East, both sides made the assessment that it is necessary to put an end to Israel's aggressive policy and to ensure the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to their own state. It was also pointed out that the problem of Namibia and of other focal points of crisis in the world, which in many respects burden international relations, has to be resolved.

The two presidents exchanged views in particular on the upcoming seventh nonaligned summit in New Delhi and stressed that in the present deteriorating international situation this meeting is of exceptional importance. In the view of Presidents Stambolic and Suharto, the nonaligned countries should agree at the seventh summit first and foremost on further joint activity in order to halt the present unfavorable developments in international relations. In this context it was stressed that at their summit meeting the representatives of nonaligned countries should concentrate on questions concerning the consolidation of peace and independence and the process of liberation of peoples and countries, and especially the economic development of nonaligned and developing countries. In this connection the need was stressed for foreign countries to make a greater contribution to halting the arms race which constitutes a serious burden on international relations.

The two presidents particularly stressed that the upcoming seventh summit should concern itself with the international economic situation and with the position of the developing countries. They stressed the exceptional importance which the establishment of equal international and economic relations has for the nonaligned and developing countries.

The solution of the present economic crisis which is shaking the whole world depends on this in their view. They made the assessment to the effect that the stability of relations in the world today depends on the establishment of a new international economic system. In this connection they stressed the importance of reciprocal economic and other kinds of cooperation among the nonaligned countries and made the assessment that this is also the way to overcome the difficulties with which the developing countries are faced in the present conditions of the world crisis.

Presidents Stambolic and Suharto stressed and expressed their expectations that the seventh summit will contribute to the further consolidation of the unity of the Nonaligned Movement on its authentic principles and on the further affirmation of nonalignment as an independent and extra-bloc force in international relations. They stressed the need and readiness of Yugoslavia and Indonesia to ensure full success of the summit meeting of nonaligned countries and agreed to cooperate as closely as possible in order to ensure the success of the meeting.

In conclusion, President Stambolic invited the president of the Indonesian Republic to visit Yugoslavia. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

Petar Stambolic, president of the SFRY Presidency, will visit the town hall this afternoon where he will be welcomed by the governor of Jakarta and where Stambolic will deliver a short speech and make an entry in the Golden Book of the Indonesian capital.

A formal dinner will be given tonight during which Presidents Stambolic and Suharto will deliver toasts.

Thanks Hosts For Hospitality

LD022312 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1218 GMT 2 Feb 83

[Excerpts] Jakarta, 2 Feb (TANJUG) -- Petar Stambolic, president of the SFRY Presidency, visited the town hall in Jakarta this afternoon, where the most prominent officials of the Indonesian capital gave him a very warm reception. He was greeted by Jakarta Governor Suprapto. Petar Stambolic, president of the SFRY Presidency, said:

"First and foremost allow me on behalf of my colleagues and in my own name to thank you for the attention and hospitality which you are showing us in this beautiful town hall building.

"This is the attention, I would say, which has followed us since the moment we stepped on the soil of your country, since our first meeting with Jakarta, with its inhabitants, with all of you, dear friends, who are ensuring that our stay here will remain indelibly in our memory. We appreciate the friendship which you are showing us all the more because we ourselves came to this big country and this beautiful city deeply permeated with the same sentiments. Yugoslavia and Indonesia have been friends for many years. Both opted for this friendship and are close in their efforts to strengthen and develop it. I think I can rightly say that this is, at the same time, the finest tradition which is based on the authentic principles of our nonaligned policy, but it means something much more because with its example, it serves its further affirmation, and with its results, it makes a concrete contribution to its implementation.

Our visit to friendly Indonesia pleases us because of the opporutnity it gives us to discuss what we have achieved through [word indistinct] cooperation and also everything we can do in addition to make it as comprehensive and extensive as possible. However, it pleases us also because it gives us an opportunity to become acquainted at closer quarters with the achievements of the friendly Indonesian people in the construction of their country expressed in a unique way by the development of your capital city. We are impressed by this development. This big and beautiful city with the hard work and love of its inhabitants is developing into one of the largest political, economic and cultural centers in the whole of Southeast Asia. This is why I should like to say here that the exchange of invaluable experience, which both you and we have gained in our efforts to make the lives of our people better, can serve as yet another firm link of Yugoslav-Indonesian friendship.

Firmer reciprocal links -- we are enjoined to do this by all the achievements of our work together -- have always proved to be good and mutually useful. I am sure that closer cooperation between our capital cities, Belgrade and Jakarta, would produce precisely this kind of results. I use this opportunity to express our best wishes for the happiness of the friendly Indonesian people, for the prosperity of your country, for fresh and even greater successes in your efforts to make this city the truest possible image of the wishes and requirements of its inhabitants."

Mojsov Meets With Counterpart

LD021300 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0905 GMT 2 Feb 83

[Text] Jakarta, 2 Feb (TANJUG) -- Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary of foreign affairs, and Indonesian Foreign Minister Mokhtar Kusumaatmaja had a separate meeting today to discuss bilateral relations between Yugoslavia and Indonesia and the preparations for the seventh nonaligned summit in New Delhi.

Mojsov and Kusumaatmaja also informed each other in detail about the situation in Europe and in Southeast Asia, establishing in this context a high level of identity of views of the two countries on these and other questions of international relations.

Trade Delegations Meet

LD021418 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1320 GMT 2 Feb 83

[Text] Jakarta, February 2 (TANJUG) -- The traditionally good political relations between Yugoslavia and Indonesia should serve as an incentive for the swifter promotion of bilateral economic relations. This point was emphasized in talks held by the economic delegations of Yugoslavia and Indonesia headed by Yugoslav government member Rikard Stajner and Indonesian Minister of Trade and Cooperatives Radius Prawiro.

It was also noted in the talks that balanced trade is a prerequisite for the faster development of economic relations. Yugoslavia is interested in purchasing raw materials and semi-manufactures such as oil, tin, and rubber. On its part, Indonesia has invited Yugoslav enterprises to participate in its major capital development projects.

The Indonesian side showed special interest in the transfer and development of Yugoslav technology. Agreement was reached on capacitating the Indonesian economy to develop its own technology in this framework.

Yugoslavia expressed interest in participating in the construction of power generation facilities in Indonesia such as electric power stations, long-distance power lines, and in exporting to it railway cars, agricultural machinery and other products.

Both sides want their cooperation to be long-term and at a higher level which can be achieved through industrial cooperation, joint investments and production. The Indonesian side expressed interest in the forming of a distribution center at one of Yugoslavia's Adriatic ports which would handle the further shipment of goods to destinations in central and Eastern Europe.

The two delegations also discussed economic cooperation among the nonaligned countries prior to the seventh nonaligned countries in March and the coming UNCTAD session in Belgrade this summer.

SMOLE ATTACKS 'UNTENABLE BEHAVIOR' OF BANKS

AU021930 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Feb 83 p 5

[LJ. Cudomirovic report]

[Text] It is pure illusion to believe that the community will solve all its economic troubles if only the negotiations on international financial support for Yugoslavia's economic stabilization are successfully concluded. This is the essence of what was said yesterday at a session of the Committee for Credit and Monetary Relations of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces [of the SFRY Assembly].

Janko Smole, member of the Federal Executive Council, informed the delegates more broadly about these negotiations. He stressed that a successful conclusion of the said negotiations will enable the country to fulfill its foreign commitments, to strengthen the foreign exchange reserves of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, to procure the production materials which are lacking in the production for exports and to eliminate the shortages of the most necessary goods for supplying the people.

In connection with the case mentioned yesterday, of some banks behaving outside all the norms of proper business conduct and responsibility (the banks concerned are Stopanska Banka [of Skopje], the Titograd Bank, the Kosovo Bank and the Vojvodina Bank), Smole sharply stated that such behavior is always untenable and particularly so at a time when we expect financial support from abroad.

What he was referring to was a letter in which the said banks informed the Yugoslav Banks Association that for objective reasons they are at the moment unable to pay even the interest on the loans which they had obtained abroad.

According to Smole, the Federal Executive Council has not shrunk from the obligation that such cases be discussed and the banks be helped as much as possible, but it is obvious that the "objective reasons" cover up some unbelievable negligence and the intention simply to push a part of their own commitments onto the National Bank and the federation.

PRESIDENCY APPROVES REPORT ON FOREIGN CREDITS

LD021720 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1318 GMT 2 Feb 83

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Feb (TANJUG) -- The SFRY Presidency held a session today. It was chaired by SFRY Presidency member Vidoje Zarkovic.

The session discussed and approved the Federal Executive Council report submitted by Milka Planinc on the results of the talks held to date on the use of foreign credits this year.

As reported, the session also discussed the report on some organizational, cadre and financial questions of the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs.

The Presidency pardoned a number of sentenced persons and discussed other questions of its constitutional jurisdiction.

BORBA VIEWS DEBATES ON CHANGES POSITIVELY

AU272141 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jan 83 p 2

[Jovan Radovanovic commentary: "Time of Changes"]

[Excerpts] The very fact that we are capable of admitting that conflicts exist in our society contains that positive force which can lead to changes -- Prof Radmila Stojanovic, professor of the Belgrade Department for Economics, said recently. This optimistic "admission" expressed at a meeting organized by the Marxist center of the Belgrade party organization was not easily accepted by all participants.

The fact is that in recent months we have been witnessing bitter debates which, each in their own way, speak about changes. There are people who begin to bristle every time changes are mentioned, stressing that changes, which for them simply mean "deviations," must not and cannot occur.

Among the advocates of changes are also people who by a "radical turning point" understand something which hasn't much connection with the fundamental principles of our community. For this reason it appears to us that the importance of public debates which are more and more opening up the road to a democratic clash of different views is enormous because at these debates it is possible, by respecting the "opponent," to reach proper solutions through force of arguments.

We must admit that we have traversed a rather long road to publicly admitting that we are a heterogenous community in which conflicts of different interests are inevitable. Let us merely recall the silent astonishment when Kardelj introduced the phrase, pluralism of self-managing interests.

A great contribution of public debates, in which solutions are being sought on which road should be chosen to make further progress, can be precisely in creating a democratic atmosphere in which the fact of the existence of diverse, and even opposing self-managing interests, will really be respected. No matter how diverse views are, even to the point of appearing quite contrary, the vital determinants remain: self-management, brotherhood and unity, the equal rights of all peoples and nationalities and nonalignment. For this reason one should not fear discussions in which the basic demand is for change, nor should one see in these discussions only "deviations."

The demands for changes -- despite all the dissonance and transparent attempts to sometimes circumvent the basic principles, if not completely remove them as "obsolete" -- most frequently mean an affirmation of self-management, equality and nonalignment. After all, our community can accept only those changes which mean a step forward.

KOSOVO LC COMMISSION VIEWS ALBANIAN RELATIONS

LD312244 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1451 GMT 31 Jan 83

[Text] Pristina, 31 Jan (TANJUG) -- The Commission for International Relations and Cooperation in the International Workers Movement of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee discussed topical problems in Yugoslav-Albanian relations at its session today. By proceeding from the well-known principles of our country, which have always attached exceptional significance to the nurturing of good-neighborly relations, in particular with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the session noted that Enver Hoxha and his followers had been developing for 35 years, with greater or lesser intensity, an unscrupulous anti-Yugoslav policy and that in so doing they were not choosy about the means they used.

In order to improve relations with Albania, Yugoslavia has not spared any efforts and has tried in every possible way to find individual forms acceptable to Albania, including in this connection also the policy and cooperation with the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo where the existence of the Albanian nationality should have served as a bridge for rapprochement and cooperation between the two countries.

Efforts have been made to find points of contact despite the fact that the Albanian leadership has never given up so-called ideological attacks on socialist self-managing Yugoslavia and on its nonaligned policy. Unfortunately for the Albanian leadership, in particular for Enver Hoxha, not even this has been enough, and the attack on Yugoslavia and its social system has been assuming increasingly severe forms, in particular following the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo.

The commission noted that the present state of Yugoslav-Albanian relations is marked by the most unscrupulous and intensive attacks by Enver Hoxha himself and his followers on Yugoslavia, on everything which is Yugoslav and on all the achievements of our revolution, in particular on brotherhood and unity. In this context, every effort is made to foment chauvinism among our nations and nationalities, in particular among members of the Albanian nationality and the Serbian nation.

In this way Enver Hoxha has embarked on a very dangerous game of causing fratricidal war in Yugoslavia and in the Balkans, a game which is harmful to the destiny of his own people. Enver Hoxha's most impudent and severe campaign against Yugoslavia culminated in his election speech in Tirana in November last year and in the recent publication of his book "Titoists" in which he, not being selective in his means, uses the most loathsome lies and twists the facts.

As stated at the session, Enver Hoxha is now openly manifesting territorial aspirations by proclaiming as Albanian territory all places in Yugoslavia where even the smallest group of Albanians live. In this way, the policy and strategy which Enver Hoxha has been personally formulating for years has acquired a synthesized expression which fully exposes its real aims against Yugoslavia. Hence, what is at stake are not just "routine" attacks on Yugoslavia but serious direct threats that are, moreover, indications of new provocative actions and ventures of broader dimensions against our country.

The session of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee Commission noted that the reasons for such dangerous moves by Enver Hoxha should be sought in the complex circumstances of Albanian society, in particular in the lack of unity in the top political leadership of Albania, which is recently showing signs of an acute crisis. And in the internal crisis which the Albanian people are experiencing at present.

It can be concluded from speeches by Enver Hoxha and his followers as well as from their actions that Yugoslavia, with its self-managing socialist and democratic relations, carries considerable influence in Albania among the broad masses and even among a section of the leading and other personalities, and that this is precisely the reason why Enver Hoxha is afraid. He is truly afraid of the dissatisfaction of his people and even of his closest associates because he knows that nobody could be content with such a situation and standard. This is, in fact, the only way in which the rigorous purges, numerous liquidations of top leaders and mass persecutions and internment in Albania can be interpreted.

It was also noted that Enver Hoxha is not only trying to shift the entire blame for the misfortunes of the Albanian people on Yugoslavia, but that he is also doing everything possible to ruin Yugoslavia's relations with other countries. He even calls directly on some Third World countries to exert pressure on Yugoslavia, foments regional and broader problems and calls on international reaction to interfere with our political security. This is the only way in which Enver Hoxha's latest flirtation with the West and the attempts to incite some neighbors to exert pressure on Yugoslavia can be interpreted. He openly calls on foreign elements to participate in witch hunts and pressure campaigns against our country.

Enver Hoxha has, of course, made full use of his propaganda machine in this entire anti-Yugoslav witch hunt. Thus, for instance, the television programs and the scientific publishing activity in Albania are directed against our country. In this propaganda, messages from the positions of Stalinism, dogmatism, nationalism and irredentism are directed at the Yugoslav public, in particular at members of the Albanian nationality. Everything in Yugoslavia is being attacked. The Albanians are stirring up controversy, in particular in relation to progressive historical figures, with the aim of fanning and encouraging greater-Albanian claims.

The Albanian leadership is trying through propaganda and other means to impose on the world public theses which attempt to call into question Yugoslavia's prestige in the world and to identify our country as a factor of instability in the Balkans and further afield. It was also stressed at the session that in its propaganda against Yugoslavia, the Albanian leadership also makes wide use of various groupings of the Albanian emigrants and that it is not bothered a bit about associating with blackest reaction if it can damage Yugoslavia and work on the destabilization and overthrow of the constitutional order of the SFRY.

It was reiterated once again that our country, despite everything, is ready today to develop with Albania respect for sovereignty and noninterference in internal affairs and mutual cooperation in every sphere. Whether this cooperation will develop and to what extent depends exclusively on the Albanian side, which should demonstrate its readiness above all by ceasing hostile attacks against our country.

The socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo is interested in such mutual cooperation because it would be mutually useful and contribute to speeding up general development, in particular that of various forms of creative activity of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia and of the people in Albania.